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THIS REFERENCE WORK IS A STRUCTURAL GRAMMAR OF THE ADAMAWA DIALECT OF FULANI AS SPOKEN IN NIGERIA AND CAMEROUN. IT IS PRIMARILY WRITTEN FOR LINGUISTS AND THOSE WHO ALREADY KNOW FULANI. THE GRAMMAR IS DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS--(1) PHONEMICS AND MORPHOPHONEMICS, DISCUSSING SEGMENTAL AND SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES, PERMITTED SEQUENCES OF PHONEMES, PHONEME REDUCTION, VARIATION IN VOWEL LENGTH, VOWEL HARMONY, AND MORPHOLOGICAL STRESS, (2) MORPHOLOGY, TREATING NOMINALS, VERBALS, AND NONINFLECTED PARTS OF SPEECH, (3) SYNTAX, DISCUSSING PHRASES, CLAUSES, AND DISCOURSES. THE FULANI CORPUS WAS TAPE-RECORDED FROM NATIVE INFORMANTS IN THE FIELD. THIS GRAMMAR WAS PUBLISHED BY THE AFRICAN STUDIES CENTER, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN 48823. (TP)

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# A Reference Grammar of Adamawa Fulani

By
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# A REFERENCE GRAMMAR
# OF
# ADAMAWA FULANI

Author: Leslie H. Stennes, M.A.
Project Director : Irvine Richardson, Ph.D.

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# FOREWORD

When one attempts to place the languages of Africa on a scale based on the extent of the area over which they constitute a useful means of communication, there are some which immediately spring to mind as contenders for a high position on the list. For a variety of reasons Fulani in its many dialectal forms tends to be underestimated in this respect. Yet it extends from Senegal to Chad and provides a medium of intercourse for many of the tribes which border on this region.

The present work, composed by Mr. Leslie H. Stennes, bears testimony to the author's long experience of Adamawa culture, his sound linguistic training and great patience and perseverance. Because of the unavailability of Fulani informants at Michigan State University where the grammar was written, he has been obliged to describe the language by means of a painstaking analysis of previously recorded and transcribed material obtained in the field, with only occasional recourse to sources in Cameroun.

I would like to thank the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education for supporting this project. My gratitude also is extended to the various agencies of Michigan State University for their kind and thoughtful co-operation. Finally, I am indebted to Mr. Stennes and indeed to all who have collaborated in this venture for the efficient and responsible manner in which they have performed their respective duties.

East Lansing
June, 1967

Irvine Richardson, Ph.D.
Project Director

## PREFACE

Approximately six to eight million people in the savannah areas of West Africa from Senegal to Chad speak Fulani.

Since Fulani is one of the major languages of Africa, it certainly merits the attention it has already received, as is evident from the partial list of works dealing with it (see Bibliography pages 269 to 276). In view of the large number of existing grammars, the production of yet another would seem to require some justification. Although many have written on Fulani, most of these works do not greatly advance our understanding of the language. Many are just brief sketches often done by laymen. The great volume of such publications is deceiving since only a few authors merit serious consideration. Gaden's work on Poular was, and still is, a milestone in Fulani studies. Arnott has written many sound articles and is about to publish a grammar of the Gombe dialect. For Adamawa, Klingenheben's grammar and Taylor's lexical work are the best.

Although most Fulani dialects are mutually intelligible, they differ sufficiently to necessitate descriptive studies for different dialects. At the same time, because of the close relationship between dialects, new information gained in one area will be important elsewhere as well.

In spite of all the previous studies of Adamawa Fulani, a new grammar has now become necessary because the older works were denied the insights of more recent grammatical theories. They were either based on the analysis of 'classical' languages (as was Taylor's) or they lacked unity and overall organization (as did Klingenheben's). In other words, they failed to give us a real notion of the unified system that Adamawa Fulani surely must have. Further although former grammars claim to be based on speech, it was a variety of speech that had been seriously modified by the field workers both as regards editing and the manner of collection. Grammarians (as well as the Fulani themselves) tend to look for 'correct' or ideal forms and it appears that 'incorrect' forms have sometimes been edited out of the material.

In an attempt to avoid these pitfalls, most of the corpus was recorded on magnetic tapes. The use of elicited materials has largely been avoided since this produces examples which are out of context and more apt to be skewed because of the abnormal method of collection. To obviate this, longer discourses, folklore, description, sermons and conversation have been recorded. While it is true that the presence of a foreigner and a machine can affect the informant's style--we trust that this was minimized by obtaining excellent rapport with most of our informants and by accustoming them both to us and to the recording machine through prolonged contact (ten to fourteen years for the main informants). The discourses thus recorded were translated and filed systematically. References are given in the grammar for all except very short examples. The references include the initials of the informant and the numbers of the transcribed material. This untranslated transcribed material may be seen at the African Studies Center, Michigan State University. Hesitation phenomena, false starts, etc. were all filed. Thus, actual speech rather than idealized speech has been studied. My own predilections have no doubt skewed the transcription, but these are not considered as being serious enough to invalidate the corpus in any important way. The aim has been to describe the sample in an economical way with the belief that it is representative of Adamawa Fulani as a whole. There has been no attempt to describe Fulani from a historical or comparative viewpoint.

For the present work an adequate view of the theory of language was thought necessary. Language is looked on as a code by means of which experiences are translated into speech sounds. Grammar is a systematic study of these structured codes or layers. Meaning is thought to be structured and hence should also be described, although this grammar has not included it. I have only probed a little into the structure of discourse. The smaller units have received a more systematic treatment. It seemed best to try to show how the systems are structured and how they fit into the language code as a whole rather than to delve into the many areas which have already received considerable attention but which can be understood only when the entire structure has been at least partly understood.

The purpose of this grammar, then, is to give an overview of the entire structure with enough detail and examples to demonstrate its nature. It is hoped that it will not only help linguists to understand the structure of Fulani and to write pedagogical materials, but that it will also advance the knowledge of those who have already learned the language. High priority has been given to clarity of presentation of the analysis and this has necessitated the use of many special terms, abbreviations and symbols. While the two latter are glossed not all the special terms are explained since this grammar is primarily written for the linguist and those who speak Fulani. The English glosses are intended only as a rough guide to the meaning of the Fulani example and not as elegant translations.

The study is limited to the speakers of 'Adamawa Fulani', i.e. that of the old Kingdom of Modibbo Adama,[1] which includes present day Adamawa and Sardauna provinces in Nigeria and much of the Fulani-speaking areas of Cameroun, but not Maroua or Kalfou.

Our data is, of course, a restricted sample from Adamawa in that the main informants are few: Mallum Saalihu, and Marta Adama of Doubeye, Mallum Abaayi of Garoua and Mallum Markus of Jemeta. The two latter were born about 1900 and are deceased. Marta Adama was born in the late 1930's and Mallum Saalihu a decade earlier.

I am indebted to many for their help in the preparation of this grammar, but can list only a few. First I am especially grateful for the patience of Mallum Abaayi, Mallum Markus Muhammadu, Mallum Saalihu and Marta Adama who have taught me most of the Fulani I know and also to many other informants who were kind enough to give of their time and talent in the recording of Fulani data.

---

[1] See Kirk-Greene, 1958, p. 15, and Mohamadou, 1965.

I would like to express my gratitude to those whom I have consulted during the course of this project, Dr. H. A. Gleason, Jr., Dr. D. W. Arnott, and Dr. Lloyd Swift. My thanks also go to Jarle Olson, David Smith, Dr. Roger W. Shuy, Dr. Ruth Brend, and many others who read parts of the manuscript and offered valuable criticisms.

I owe a great deal to previous writers on the Fulani language, as well as to those whose works have provided general guidance. These are indicated in the bibliography.

Many thanks go to the numerous students at Michigan State University who have helped in various ways, but especially to Miss Dotti Clune who has been the project secretary since December 1965.

While I am, of course, solely responsible for the analysis and the final copy, I am particularly indebted to the project director, Dr. Irvine Richardson, for administering the project in such an efficient way and for his many valuable suggestions concerning grammatical analysis and style of writing.

In conclusion, I gratefully acknowledge the financial support accorded this project by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, and the excellent facilities and cooperation provided by Michigan State University during the execution of the contract.

East Lansing, Michigan — Leslie H. Stennes
June, 1967

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# CHAPTER 1 PHONEMICS

## 1] 1.1 Relation to standard orthography

There has been no one orthography accepted for all of Adamawa Fulani, much less for all dialects of the whole language. However, under the auspices of UNESCO, a common orthography was agreed upon at Bamako in 1966. Unless otherwise noted, this is the orthography that is followed in this grammar. The values of the letters are approximately those associated with phonetic symbols in common use except that ʔ is written as ', ñ as ny, č as c, and ǰ as j. Digraphs are used for the prenasalized consonants, though these are analyzed as unit phonemes.

## 2] 1.2 Vowel phonemes

### 1.21 Inventory

Adamawa Fulani has five vowel[1] phonemes that contrast with one another as regards quality. Vowel length is also contrastive or phonemic and each of the five vowel phonemes may be lengthened. Vowel length is marked by doubling the letter. The vowels are:

| | Front unrounded | Central unrounded | Back rounded |
|---|---|---|---|
| High close | i/ii | | u/uu |
| Mid open | e/ee | | o/oo |
| Low open | | a/aa | |

### 1.22 The phonetic features of vowels

The back vowels are rounded, the rest are unrounded. Since there are only five contrastive qualities, the area covered by each vowel quality is rather large. The essential differentiating feature of 'short vowels' versus 'long vowels' is that of quantity. It should be noted, however, that the quality of long and short vowel phonemes is not identical, as is shown by the following phonetic chart:

---

[1] In the description of the phonology it may sometimes be advantageous to speak of ten vowels (as in describing the CV(C) pattern), but elsewhere (as in the distributional restrictions) it is simpler to refer to the five vowel phonemes, as length is in this case irrelevant.

ii uu
ɪ ᴜ
e o
ɛɛ ɔɔ
a
aa

Short vowels are more central and hence harder to distinguish from one another than are their corresponding long vowels. Furthermore, in any given syllable the quality of the consonant tends to affect the quality of the vowel that follows. Thus, a labial consonant will move a vowel forward while a velar consonant will move it to the back of the mouth.

3] There are two semivowels *w* and *y* which have sometimes been treated as vowels *u* and *i* in all positions. However, a thorough study of the canonical structure of the syllable leads one to the conclusion that these are in fact semivowels (see 24-25).[1] When words like *dów* and *séy* are treated as *dóu* and *séi* two kinds of syllables must by hypothesized: CVV and CVC. In this case the first of the CVV pattern may be any vowel, while the second vowel can only be *i* or *u*. But if *i* and *u* in the second position are treated as consonants they fit into the one general CVC syllable pattern, and the problem of restricted diphthongs is eliminated.

4] 1.23 Vowel contrasts

All vowels contrast in medial position.

---

[1] Cross reference whole numbers refer to paragraph numbers unless specified otherwise.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In verb stems: | sál-[1] | refuse |
| | sél- | take a side road |
| | síl- | strip meat |
| | sól- | be a tightwad |
| | súl- | take a concubine |

Contrasts between short and long vowels in verb stems:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| hár- | snore | hór- | spy |
| háar-[2] | be satisfied | hóor- | take away |
| féw- | lie | dúr- | to shepherd |
| féew- | be cold | dúur- | to be long |
| hís- | save | | |
| híis- | count | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In dependent pronouns: | -ŋgal- | -ɗam- |
| | -ŋgel- | |
| | -ŋgol- | |
| | | -ɗum- |

In nouns:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| háala | talk | láamu | kingdom |
| | | léemu | lemon |
| híila | magic | | |
| | | dóole | force |
| | | dúule | clouds |
| | | lúumo | market |
| | | káre | goods |
| kéni | winds | | |
| kíne | nostrils | | |
| kónu | war | kóre | wife |
| | | kúri | arrows |

---

[1] ´ over the vowel indicates morpheme stress (see 28 and 41ff.). Bound morphemes are marked by a hyphen.

[2] In long vowels stress is only marked on the first letter.

Vowels contrast in final position :

In verbs:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tókka | follow | Active voice continuative |
| tókk-aa | you follow | 2nd person singular inverted |
| tókkee | follow | Imperative plural |
| tókki | followed | Past |
| ɗotókko | is following | Emphatic voice continuative |
| tókku | follow | Imperative singular |

In dependent pronouns:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| -ŋga- | | -ka- |
| -ŋge- | -nde- | |
| | -ndi- | -ki- |
| -ŋgo- | | -ko- |
| -ndu- | -ndu- | |

These examples are clitics and function in various ways (see 171ff.).

5] 1.24 Vowel distribution

A count of 30,556 syllables revealed the following vowel distribution:

| | |
|---|---|
| a | 7366 |
| aa | 2866 |
| e | 3734 |
| ee | 596 |
| i | 5934 |
| ii | 909 |
| o | 5689 |
| oo | 1047 |
| u | 2021 |
| uu | 394 |

It is interesting to note that high vowels number 9,258, mid vowels 11,066 and the low vowel 10,232 although there is only one low vowel.

6] With few exceptions all vowels can precede and follow all consonants. The following exceptions should be noted:

1) ŋ is never followed by a vowel.[1]

2) u or uu do not precede n word finally and very rarely otherwise; however, the combination um is very common.

3) om and oom are rarely found.

| | |
|---|---|
| dóomru[2] | rat |
| cóomri | tiredness |

4) uw does not appear as such within a syllable.

5) *uŋ and *uuŋ do not occur.

Each syllable contains one and only one vowel.

---

[1] Since the phonology of ideophones and formulaic words does not entirely follow that of other parts of speech, it is best described as a sub-system (see 31-38). Thus, in the ideophone búŋulum one finds ŋ does occur before a vowel.

[2] For many speakers it is dóomburu.

## 1.3 Consonant phonemes

### 7] 1.31 Inventory

There are 27 consonant phonemes:

| | | LABIAL | ALVEOLAR | ALVEOPALATAL | VELAR | GLOTTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| STOPS | Voiceless | p | t | c[1] | k | ' |
| | Voiced | b | d | j[1] | g | |
| | Vd. Implosive | ɓ | ɗ | | | |
| | Pre-nasalized | mb | nd | nj | ŋg | |
| FRICATIVES | Voiceless | f[2] | s | | | h |
| | Voiced | v[2] | | | | |
| NASAL RESONANTS | Voiced | m | n | ny | ŋ | |
| NON-NASAL RESONANTS | Lateral | | l | | | |
| | Trill | | r | | | |
| | Semivowels | w | | y | | |

### 8] 1.32 The phonetic features of consonants

Stops appear at five points of articulation: labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, velar and glottal. The absence or presence of voicing is significant except for the glottal stop. Voiced glottalized bilabial and alveolar consonants[3] occur. Pre-nasalization of all the stops but the glottal is also significant. The alveopalatal stops are affricated. Although the alveopalatal voiced implosive ƴ is said to be phonemic in other dialects, it is rare in Adamawa

---

[1] See paragraph one.

[2] The symbols f and v are employed for these labial fricatives although they are usually used for labiodental fricatives.

[3] Ladefoged (1964 pp. 7-8, 16-17) points out that there are two types of glottalized consonants in West African languages: the implosives e.g. ɓ, ɗ as in Igbo and Kalabari and the laryngealized consonants e.g. 'ɓ, 'ɗ as in Hausa and Fulani.

Fulani and not distinguished from the glottal stop. Final stops are unreleased.

Voiceless fricatives occur at three points of articulation: labial, alveolar, and glottal. The voiced bilabial fricative is a separate phoneme in Adamawa although it is not in other areas. The point of articulation of the s ranges from alveolar in some speakers to alveopalatal in others.

Nasals occur in labial, alveolar, alveopalatal and velar points of articulation. The non-nasal resonants occur as alveolar lateral, alveolar trill, and labial alveopalatal semivowels.

### 9] 1.33 Consonant contrasts

Most of the consonants have only one phonologically significant realization. However, there are two important exceptions (see 17).

10] Voiced-voiceless contrasts in stops: (there are no voiced-voiceless contrasts in the final consonant of $Sy_2$, see 25).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | b | páali | pots | báali | sheep (pl) |
| | | ɗáppini | crouch | dábbaaji | animals |
| t | d | táwi | find | dáwi | start out early |
| | | wárti | come back | wárdi | come with |
| k | g | káɗa | stop (pl.) | gáɗa | across |
| | | tággi | roll up | tákki | stick to |

Affricated stops:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| c | j | cáali | pass by (pl) | jáali | conquer |
| | | máccuɗo | slave | májjuɗo | lost one |

The affricates do not occur finally.

11] Implosive-explosive stops:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| b ɓ | báabaaji | fathers | ɓáaɓaaji | hip beads |
| | jábbe | hills [for sowing][1] | jáɓɓe | tamarind tree |
| d ɗ | dáani | caused to win (race) | ɗáani | slept |
| | kádi | thus, so | káɗi | hindered (pl) |

12] Nasalized-non-nasalized consonants:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| d nd | 'o-dári | he stood | ɓe-ndári | they stood |
| | wáade | death | wáandu | red monkey |
| b mb | mbáali | slept (pl) | báali | sheep (pl) |
| | kóobi | roan antelope (pl) | dóombi | rats |
| g ŋg | gáari | porridge | ŋgáari | bull |
| | tógi | stamped | tóŋgi | vowed |
| j nj | jála | laugh | njála | laugh (pl) |
| | káaji | was jealous (pl) | kánji | those |

13] Non-nasal resonants:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| l r | lámmi | was salty | rámmi | was short |
| | háari | was satisfied | háali | character |
| | mbár | kill | mbál | beer |
| l w | láarata | see | wáarata | do in a certain manner |
| | féli | scolded | féwi | lied (cf. *féri*) |
| | gal- | to | gáw | hunter |
| l y | yáara | lead, take | láara | see |
| | sélni | lead astray | séyni | make happy |
| | tól | (ideophone) | tóy | where |

---

[1] Square brackets in the English glosses indicate that the enclosed item is added to make sense.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| w h y | wára | come | hára | snore | yára | drink |
| | táwi | found | táhi | licked | jéyi | possessed |
| | | | | (cf. | tári | mound |
| | | | | | támi | mould) |
| | dów | up | séy | only | | |

14] Nasal resonants:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| m n | máni | praised | náni | heard |
| | támi | moulded | táni | gave in marriage |
| | láar-am | see me | láaran | will see |
| | námgo | to grind | nángo | to hear |
| m ny | dáami | bothered | dányi | gave birth to |
| | máama | grandparent | nyáama | eat |
| m ŋ | kumkúmre | a plant | dóŋka | thirst |
| n ny | námi | ground | nyáami | eat |
| | góndɗo | one present | dányɗo | one born |
| | náni | hear | dányi | sleep V |
| n ŋ | ŋ does not occur initially, and finally only in ideophones. | | | |
| | góndɗo | one present | dáŋɗe | thighs |
| ny ŋ | dányɗo | one born | dáŋɗe | thighs |

15] Fricatives:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| f v | fáali | took care of | váali | made (rope) |
| | v does not occur medially or finally | | | |
| f s | fáali | took care of | sáali | passed by |
| | túfi | pricked | túsi | punctured |
| | | | lés | below |
| | f occurs finally only in borrowed words. | | | |
| | h does not occur finally. | | | |
| h s | hóofi | knelt down | sóofi | got wet |
| | kólakolàahi | type of tree | láasi | [long] hairs |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| h | v | váala | make [rope] | háala | palaver |

16] Other contrasts

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| w | v | wáali | laid [down] | váali | made [a rope] |
| s | c | sáali | passed by (sg) | cáali | passed by (pl) |
| f | p | hámfurde | duiker | kámpure | duikers |

17] Non-contrastive consonants

ƴ is apparently phonemic in other Fulani dialects. In Adamawa Fulani it is best considered an allophone of the glottal stop. However, some Adamawa speakers will consistently use ƴ in certain words which can be considered as borrowings from other dialects.

z is used by some speakers in loan words. Other speakers will substitute j for z in loan words.

18] 1.34 Consonant distribution

The prenasalized stops occur initially in a syllable, but not finally. nd and ŋg occur as a second member of consonant sequences where the resonants or s form the first member, e.g. ŋgílŋga 'large worm.' mb can also occur following these consonants in reduplicated verbs, e.g. mbàrmbárni 'killed systematically.'

' occurs initially in a syllable. However, its distribution within words is restricted to an intervocalic position, e.g. tá'i 'cut,' or in a sequence of two glottals dó"i 'fell,' or following resonants sír'irde 'opening in teeth for spitting.'

The alveopalatal stops c and j occur syllable initial or in a consonant sequence following resonants, e.g. wáanci 'strolled,' kánjum 'that.'

All other stops can occur in all positions except word finally. However, all voiced stops do occur finally in imperatives and in the shortened form of the verb under special conditions (see 25). Voiceless stops occur word finally in ideophones.

f and s can occur in all positions except word final. However, s occurs in this position in lés 'down' and in ideophones. As a second member of consonant clusters they occur only after the resonants, but not after ŋ, e.g. fulfúlde 'the Fulani language.'

v occurs only word initially. This is not a phoneme in other areas but in Adamawa Fulani several minimal contrasts are found.

h occurs syllable initially and word initially but as a second member of a consonant cluster it follows only the resonants, e.g. kalháldi 'virile bull.'

The labial, alveolar, and alveopalatal resonants m, n, ny l, r, w, y show no gross restriction of occurrence. They may occur word initially, word finally, syllable finally as first or second members of consonant sequences. There are, however, some clusters that do not occur. w does not occur before b but wb > bb. l does not occur before r (see consonant cluster chart 56).

ŋ can only occur syllable finally before another syllable. Since its occurrence is not frequent, we have not found minimal pairs in contrast but there is convincing evidence that this is a separate phoneme with very restricted distribution (see 14).

## 1.4 Larger phonological units

### 19] 1.41 Words

A word is a unit of speech having one or more stressed syllables. The word usually consists of a stressed root (see 87-88) plus the suffixes. Words include the verbal, nominal and adjectival roots plus suffixes, as well as all stressed function words. Words contain from one to six syllables. Stressed suffixes are not considered separate words. Clitics are non-stressed one syllable units of speech that depend phonologically on a preceding or following word, or on another clitic. Clitics are marked by a hyphen, e.g. mal- 'teacher.' Some depend on following words, some on preceding words, and others on one or the other. When more than one clitic depends on the same word, one of these clitics may be stressed (see example MS 57.3 in paragraph 21).

20] A combination of a word plus a dependent clitic may be called a complex word.[1] Optional pause breaks do not occur within the complex word. The complex word usually has one stress. However, the complex word may include two stressed morphemes (see juncture 22-23 and morphological stress 86-91.) Boundaries between words and clitics are marked by a hyphen; other boundaries are marked by a space.

| | |
|---|---|
| yéhi táwi fówru-go ɗowáali ɗáani. MS 99.8 | [He] went [and] found hyena, the one referred to, was lying sleeping. |
| 'o-wártoy bee-kúuje-go-? MS 92.1 | He came back from there with things previously referred to. |
| lábbo-go túfi-mo háa tetéki. MS 105.2 | Spear, the one referred to, pierced him in the guts. |

21] Two or more clitics may follow a word.

| | |
|---|---|
| káŋka mbíi-noo-maa-mi. MS 57.3 | That is what I told you. |

The vowel of the pronoun {-maa}[2] in the above example is realized as a long vowel, although it is more commonly realized as a short vowel (see 78).

22] 1.411 There are two types of juncture. The first type of juncture is marked by a space and delimits words. Words usually have one stress.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-máɓɓ=it=an=i-'en háa 'en-'ánd=a 'Álla[3] M 181.7 | he opened up for us so we could know God |
| to-'o-wár=t=i sáare máako 'o-síw=t=o M 179.2 | if he come back [to] home-his he would rest |

However, some units having two stresses are one word. In the tense suffixes the negative morphemes are stressed when followed by other suffixes. The stressed suffixes are a part of the word as are unstressed suffixes.

---

[1] Although it is most economical to describe complex words by referring to morphology, they are primarily phonological units and not particularly useful in the description of morphology or syntax.

[2] Morphemes enclosed in braces have variant forms. See Glossary of symbols page 240.

[3] Clitic junctures are marked by hyphens (see 23), and morpheme boundaries within words are marked by equal signs.

'enɗ=uɗo-yam bee-mo-'énɗáayi-yam MS 110.4 — the one who cares for me with the one who does not care for me

Instead of mo-'énɗ=áayi-yam
one could say mo-'énɗ=i-yam — one who cares for me

23] The second type of juncture is marked by a hyphen and delimits clitics from words within complex words. Boundaries of phrases often occur at this juncture, i.e. dependent pronoun clitics replace stressed noun phrase units.

'o-víi-mo mi-fáami...MS 186.3 — he said [to] her I understand
NP VP NP complement
NP VP

ɓíɗɗo débbo víi górko-'am wári — The girl said man-my came (The girl said, "My man has come.") MS 186.5
NP VP complement
NP VP

Compare 'o-wári 'he came' with Búuba[1] wári 'Buuba came.'

24] 1.412 Syllables: the phonological shape of all syllables is CV(C) or consonant, vowel (where the vowel can be either short or long), with an optional final consonant. Words are composed of from one to six syllables. Although the phonology of ideophones and borrowed words is different from that of regular words (see 31-38 ) the shape of syllables in these words is not different.[2]

---

[1] Capital letters are used in the Fulani examples only for proper names.

[2] One peripheral exception must be noted here. Response words are often given in the abstract. That is, syllabic words can replace response words. These bear the same rhythm and intonation as the words they replace: m̀mhm may replace 'ɓoho 'yes,' etc.

25] There are two types of syllables, one which occurs initially and medially in a word and the other which occurs word finally. The following formula shows how the syllables of a word are arranged.

$(Sy_1)(Sy_1)(Sy_1)(Sy_1)(Sy_1)Sy_2$

The following chart gives the restrictions of the consonant occurrences in $Sy_1$ and $Sy_2$:

$Sy_1 > C_1 +$ Vowel $(C_2)$
$Sy_2 > C_3 +$ Vowel $(C_4)$
$C_1 >$ All consonants but *ŋ*
$C_2 >$ All consonants but *mb*, *nd*, *ŋg*, *nj*, *v*, *h*
$C_3 >$ All consonants but *ŋ*, *nj*
$C_4 >$ d, ɗ, s, m, n, l, [illegible], w, y

Stops occur finally in $Sy(llable)_2$ only under restricted conditions, (see below) but they occur more freely in $Sy_1$ (see consonant cluster chart in paragraph 56). Voiceless stops do not occur finally in $Sy_2$ except in ideophones (31-38), where they occur frequently. Some examples of stop plus stop in contigucus syllables are:[1]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| pt | as in | hépti | found |
| ɗɓ | as in | yíɗɓe | beloved ones |
| ɓd | as in | háɓda | struggle |
| ɓɗ | as in | kéɓ-ɗen | we got |
| ɗg | as in | béɗgol | dawn |
| ɓg | as in | tóɓgo | to rain |
| gd | as in | ságdere | ax |
| tg | as in | wáylititgo | to change, translate |
| tk | as in | ɗúutkoy | many little ones |
| gɗ | as in | tágɗo | maker, creator |

---

[1] These are the only clusters for which I have clear evidence. Other clusters occur in borrowed words, e.g. *dókta* 'doctor.'

ɓ and g go not occur as the final consonant of $Sy_2$ in Adamawa Fulani. d and ɗ do occur in this position: wood 'there is' and waɗ 'do' but only when these units are destressed.[1]

26] 1.413 Word-syllable comparison: A study of over 20,000 occurrences of one-syllable words and clitics gives us the following information:

| | Number of types[2] | Percentages of the total number of one-syllable tokens[3] |
|---|---|---|
| Pronouns | 45 | .50 |
| Relators | 75 | .42 |
| Verbs | 33 | .05 |
| Ideophones | 50 | .015 |
| Formulaic words | 17 | .005 |
| Nouns | 13 | .008 |

Although about 45 percent of all word tokens are monosyllabic, these are confined to a rather limited number of types. There is a limited number of one-syllable pronouns and function words, yet these words comprise nearly half the word types and over 90 percent of the word tokens. Although 33 verbs comprise 5 percent of the occurrences, these types are limited to a very few common verbs. One of them occurs without the medial glottal stop, e.g. ví'i > víi and comprises nearly 90 percent of the one-syllable verb occurrences.

---

[1] However, stops do occur in this position in imperatives in the Maroua dialect, which is outside Adamawa.

[2] Type = a particular item without regard to its number of occurrences.

[3] Tokens = individual occurrences.

27] Ideophones, formulaic and nonsense word classes are productive but the production of ideophones is largely restricted to a CVC pattern. Also, long vowels are not phonemically distinguished from short vowels in these types of words. Further, it appears that certain other features may also not be phonemically significant in ideophones. Compare the following variants of the same ideophones as used by one speaker: páw, páaw, fáaw and váaw.

| | |
|---|---|
| wáandu díwi $\overset{*}{\text{p}a}$w![1] MS 84.2 | The red monkey jumped suddenly or unexpectedly. |
| ɓe-kóo'i kóombooje váaw... MS 65.7 | They took the boats in a surprise move. |

Note also káp and cáp appear to be variants of the same ideophone.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-jóoɗi cáp. MS 67.4 | We sat right there. |
| ...ɓáari heɗ-ɗáago káp. MS 63.6 | [she] put [him] by the bed roll exactly.<br>(She put him next to the bed roll) |

28] 1.414 Stress is basically tied to the morpheme and is best described as morphological stress (see 86 ff.).

29] 1.415 Nasalization indicates special emphasis. It is not common.[2]

| | |
|---|---|
| káyya 'ám-boo górko-go nṍy? MS 64.6 | My-then you also man-that how?<br>(Hey you there, what about that man?) |
| fájiri láamɗo 'émata-mo nṍy hánde? MS 64.6 | Morning chief asked him what today?<br>(In the morning the chief asked him, "What's up today?") |
| ɓíiraba ɓóosaaru-go ɓíira wáɗi nĩ́i. | You know dog-that-one, you know, did thus. |

Nasalization also occurs in ideophones.

| | |
|---|---|
| ...'o-násti súuɗu boõ. MS 64.3 | he entered house boõ<br>(he came into the house with a bang) |

---

[1] The * above the vowel indicates emphatic stress (see 41).

[2] It could be treated as a paralinguistic feature.

| | |
|---|---|
| ...'o-ɓíri kósam fyĕw fyĕw fyĕw MS 76.1 | he milked milk squirt squirt squirt |

30] 1.416 Extra length also indicates special emphasis of the quality or quantity of a word in a clause or phrase. Extra length can occur on long vowels and on r.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-mári céede ɗúuuɗɗe...MS 80.1 | They have money lots-and-lots... |
| ...dányi ɓíkkoy ɗuúuutkoy MS 103.7 | ...bore children very very many |
| wúurni-ɗi háa ɗi-tékki bóooɗɗum. MS 97.5 | Raised them until they fattened very very good. |
| ɓíŋgel máwni máwni máwni booóooŋgel níi. MS 91.7 | Child grew, grew, grew, a-very-fine-child indeed so. |
| 'iíwo bóooŋgo...MS 76.5 | Adolescence very very good |
| 'O-tékkini-ŋgu bóooɗɗum. MS 99.4 | He fattened it very very very good. |
| gáaaptarel. MS 103.7 | a very very very wretched child |
| ...hórɓe njófti cólel báaw! MS 73.7 | The female slaves let loose the little bird baaaw! |
| górko-go sáari fárrrrr. MS 63.7 | Man, one referred to, voided farrrrr.<br>(The man's heart went out of him)<br>(indicates never-ending stream going farr) |

31] 1.417 Ideophones usually modify verb stems in Adamawa Fulani. They are called ideophones rather than adverbs because their phonology forms a sub-system in relation to the phonology of other parts of speech and because they are reminiscent of similar kinds of words in other Niger-Congo languages.[1]

32] Ideophones are a class of words which may receive emphatic stress[2] rather than normal stress on the stressable syllable.

---

[1] See Doke 1935, Ansre 1961, Samarin 1962 and 1966, Fivaz 1963, Kunene 1965, and Alexandre 1966.

[2] Emphatic stress (see also 41) refers to form and not meaning. One should perhaps consider emphatic stress as paralinguistic.

Emphatic stress is marked by one or more of the following features: raised pitch, forceful aspiration, and loudness. Ultra high pitch is sometimes found on high vowels *i* and *u*. When emphatic stress is realized, forceful aspiration occurs in ideophones containing at least one stop or fricative consonant. Most ideophones have at least one stop or fricative. These consonants may occur initially or finally in a syllable. *Láw* 'quickly' is an example of an ideophone not containing a stop or fricative. When such ideophones occur with emphatic stress, forceful aspiration will not be a feature of that stress.

33] Two-syllable ideophones are stressed on the final syllable rather than the first as other stressed words are, unless the final syllable of the ideophone ends in a vowel. When ideophones are totally or partially reduplicated, stress will occur on the last syllable regardless of whether they end in a vowel or consonant.
E.g. *lawláw* 'very quickly' from *láw* 'quickly', and *pararararararará* 'purposefully' from *parák*, as in:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-sórti parák | he ran away with a purpose |
| súka...sórti pararararararará<br>MS 56.5 | the young man ran away like a rocket |

34] Rhythm and intonation on reduplicated ideophones are also significant. A constant rising intonation indicates a rapid smooth movement on the part of the actor of the clause (cf. MS 56.5 in paragraph 33), while an alternating low high pitch indicates an undulating movement.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-ndílli pùrúppùrúppùrúppùrúppùrú[1]<br>MS 100.3 | they went galloping along |

35] Most ideophones modify verb or adjective roots:

| | |
|---|---|
| háa háca *du̇s* MS 111.7 | until it smells *badly* |
| 'o-'ándi *fakát* Ibr 53.6 | he knew *for-a-fact* |
| ndíyam ɓálwi *kuru̇m* MS 71.1 | the water blackened *very-black* |

---

[1] [` ´] here indicate a pitch rhythm contour.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-dànyáay *láw* MS 21.10 | she did not bear a child *very-fast* |
| ɗóo-kam vóoɗi *masín* MA 129.3 | this is good *very* |
| mi-sìwtáaki *sám* MS 84.3 | I have not rested *at-all* |

Some of these are onomatopoeic:

| | |
|---|---|
| símta *tól* MS 59.3 | drip *tól* |
| górko-oo sáari *fárrrrr* MS 67.3 | The man (previously referred to) voided *fárrrrr* |
| 'ádi gáwri-kam tímmini fff... MA 117.6 | carried corn then finished *fff* |
| nonnón 'o-ɓólwi *cululululululu⃰t* MS 58.6 | Thus she melted *cululululululut* |
| débbo dáneejo *tál* MS 68.6 | woman white *very* |
| ndíyam ránwi *ta⃰l* MS 71.1 | water whitened *very* |
| ndíyam vóoji *co⃰y* MS 71.1 | water reddened *very* |
| lékki-man bóɗeejum *cóy* AB 121.5 | medicine (referred to) red *very* |
| nder-súudu-ndu ɓáleeru *kuru⃰m* DY 13.12 | in house-this black *pitch(black*) |

Other ideophones modify the nominal unit and could be called adjectives:

| | |
|---|---|
| jáma'aaje léddi pát háwti dow-máako . MS (14) 2.9 | Peoples of-country all gathered {on<br>over} him |

36] The phonology of ideophones

The contrastive features of the phones of ideophones are substantially reduced. Vowel length is not phonemic. There is no phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants, implosives and the glottal stop apparently do not occur, and the occurrence of pre-nasalized consonants is very rare. Of the resonants only alveolars are phonemic. In the following consonant chart the phonemes are written in lower case letters.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| STOPS | Voiceless | P | T | C | K |
| | Voiced | b | d | j | g |
| FRICATIVES | Voiceless | F | S | | H |
| | Voiced | v | | | |
| NASALS | | m | N | | ŋ |
| | Lateral | | L | | |
| | Trill | | R | | |
| Semivowels | | w | | y | |

37] In ideophones there is sometimes a free variation between phonemes and allophones (see 27):

[páw ~ páaw ~ fáaw ~ váaw]
[pavak ~ paráp ~ parák]
[cáp ~ káp]

However, this free variation does not operate throughout ideophones. In other words the variation will range from a very free variation (as above) to virtually none at all as in some ideophones such as dús, tál and cóy.

| | |
|---|---|
| háa háca dús MA 111.7 | until it smells badly |
| ránwi tál MS 71.1 | whitened very white |
| vóoji cóy MS 71.1 | reddened very red |

Ideophones associated with a particular root tend to be less susceptible to free variation than those used with several roots which are related in meaning.

Although the phonology of ideophones operates as a system different from that of other words, it is interconnected and words found in the other system are avoided. -Koy- is a pronoun and also a theoretically possible ideophonic form, but is not used as such. Cf. also tóy, nóy.

38] The distribution of allophones in ideophones

y m w n do not occur initially, while f and the voiced stops occur only initially. All other phones occur both initially and finally. The voiceless stops occur nearly as often as all the other ideophonic consonants put together (45 percent of the total). They occur approximately five times (and fricatives about ten times) more frequently in ideophones than in an equal number of other words. Thus while stops in final position are very often found in ideophones, they are rather rare in regular words.

39] 1.42 Breath groups

Breath groups are units of one or more words that are uttered during an exhalation of breath and have one of the terminal intonation patterns described in 50ff. Breath groups also occur with or without final glottality and may occur with breath group stress.

40] 1.421 Stress occurs on three levels: on the word, on the phrase, and on the breath group. Word stress is described under morphological stress (86 ff.).

41] 1.4211 Noun phrase stress:

As is shown in paragraph 86 ff., words show a contrast between stress and non-stress. However, in order to describe stress on units larger than the word, it is useful to note five kinds of stress:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [*] | emphatic stress | as in | p$\overset{*}{a}$t |
| [ˈ] | major stress | as in | bóoɗɗum |
| [ˊ] | morpheme stress | as in | báaba màako |
| [ˋ] | minor stress | | |
| [ ] | no stress | | |

42] When examining words we find such items as báaba 'father' and máako 'his, her' with morpheme stress on the first syllable and no stress on the second syllable. But in a larger context the stress of the head noun may be relatively stronger than that of the modifier.

She said he would go to her father.
'o-víi 'o-díllan haa-báaba màako. MS 97.5
Pr V Pr V Loc Noun PPr
Head PPr
VP VP NP

In the above example we find that the stress of the first syllable of the possessive pronoun <u>máako</u> is reduced in relation to the stress of the first syllable of the head noun.[1]

43] Noun phrases usually occur with one prominently stressed syllable [´]. Other syllables in the noun phrase occur with minor stress [`] and no stress (not marked).

kúuje hóoti ládde. MS 81.3 Things went home [to the] bush.
H(ead) V(erb) H
NP[2] VP NP
S V O

'éme kumáarewal. MS 91.4 Ask the crown bird.
V H
VP NP
V O

kála mo-'o-tókki...ND 85.1 Everyone whom he followed...
$\underbrace{\text{NZ Pr V}}$
Lim$_1$ Head
NP

---

[1] Pitch and intonation certainly play a role here. It may well be that minor stress, major stress and emphatic stress may be more economically described in terms of pitch and intonation.

[2] For an explanation of the symbols see Glossary.

ko-ŋgíɗ-ɗaa fùu min-ŋgéenet-e.[1]
NZ V-Pr $\text{Lim}_2$ Pr V
NP(Co) NP VP Co

What you want all we will pay you
(Whatever you want) MS 97.1

hàkkunde hóore gòrko bee-dèbbo
Prep H $\underbrace{\text{N link N}}_{\text{GN}}$
Head

Between the head of the man and woman
MS 64.4

'o-hóo'i júŋgo gòɗɗo-go MS 64.3
Pr V N N Ref
$\underbrace{\text{N GN Ref}}_{\text{NP}}$

He took the hand of man-that.

Chief [of] village-that even cannot surpass him [in] riches.
láamɗo wùro-man fùu wáawataa ɓúrugo-mo jáwdi. MS 56.8
N N Ref $\text{Lim}_2$ V Inf Pr N
$\underbrace{\text{H GN Ref Lim}_2}_{\text{NP}}$

However, there are examples of different stress patterns:

cúura hùunde ládde MS 66.15
N N N
$\underbrace{\text{H GN GN}}_{\text{NP}}$

The big house [of] the thing bush
(The big house of the bush animal)

---

[1] Nasal plus nasal become nasal across clitic junctures.

44] Adjectives, demonstratives, féere and méere normally occur with prominent stress on the stressed syllable.

góɗɗo 'óo  MS 109.1  man, that one (that man)
N  Dem
H  ATN
NP

ŋgórgi máako goɗɗo féere  MS 109.3 friend-his man-another (another friend of his)
H  PFr  H  ATN
NP  NP
NP

The following example shows all the words with equal stress:
(He also took a hand of the cut-up corpse)
He took hand [of] person cut up that also.

'o-hóc'i ɟúŋgo góɗɗo tá'aaɗo-go-boo.  MS 64.2
Pr  V  N  N  Adj  Ref relator
H  GN  ATN  Ref
NP  NP

45] The following examples will show how an intonation pattern (see 50-55) interacts with stress. In a group of words with serial intonation pattern, a shift of stress may occur in words of more than three syllables provided this word falls within the final four syllables of the intonation pattern. This shift can occur only forward from a short syllable to a long one. Thus:

[víi móɗaari][1] + serial intonation > víi moɗáari-?
['o-víi góriiko][2] + serial intonation > 'o-víi goríiko-?

---

[1] 'Said to the python'

[2] 'She said [to] her husband'

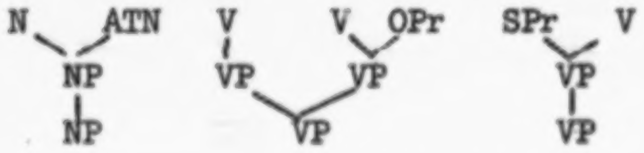
In noun phrase there is also another shift, where the stress is normally on the head noun it will shift to the genitival nominal.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [dáliila mùuɗum][1] | + serial intonation | > | dàliila múuɗum-? |
| [séɓre dùkuuje][2] | + serial intonation | > | sèɓre dukúuje-? |

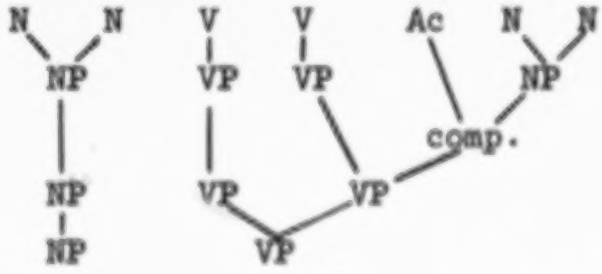
46] 1.4212 Verb Phrase Stress: Often the verb phrase is co-extensive with the word and hence has no different stress. However, verb phrases can be united by prominent stress to form a compound verb phrase. The last verb root will occur with morpheme stress, while the first root will occur with minor stress.

The compounding of diverse verb phrases:

Person another entered found her she was sleeping.
gòɗɗo féere nàsti táwi-mo 'o-ɗoɗáani. MS 186.6

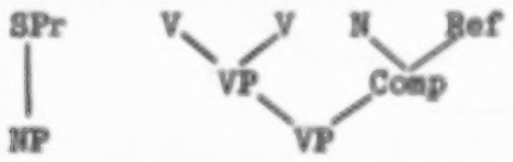


Old woman went visited with old woman.
pul-débbo yèhi ýíidi bee-pul-débbo. MS 186.4



Note the similarity of the stress patterns of the above with partially or completely reduplicated verb roots:

káŋko...mbàrmbárni kúuje-go. MS 95.6 He...killed thoroughly,
things referred to before.
(He really did away with
those beings.)



---

[1] 'his purpose'

[2] 'fresh pawpaw bark'

ŋgam-dúuniya làaláati...G 158.5 Because the world has changed...
Compare pàwpáwni MA and pòopóotiren Ma.

47] 1.422 Final glottality may occur at the end of a breath group, that is pre-pausally. It is marked by an unreleased glottal stop. An examination of 204 breath groups with final glottality shows this feature occurring after the following morphemes;

| | |
|---|---|
| Subjunctive -a | 91 |
| Past active -i | 70 |
| Infinitive -go | 18 |
| Nominals | 14 |
| Imperative -u | 1 |
| Progressive ɗo-...-a | 3 |
| Future passive habitual -etee | 2 |
| Future active -an | 1 |
| Adverb séeɗa | 1 |
| False starts | 3 |
| | 204 |

In the same units, final glottality co-occurs with the following intonation patterns (See 50-54):

| | |
|---|---|
| Sustained | 122 |
| Final | 82 |
| Question | 0 |
| Serial | 0 |
| | 204 |

48] In an examination of 203 breath groups from parts of three texts,[1] 81 units occurred with final glottality while 122 occurred without it. In the conversational text the ratio was one to five, while in the others it was three to four.

---

[1] A story by Mal-Saali (XXI), a description by Marta Aadama (XXI), and a conversational text from Garoua (G 2).

Certain morphemes are never glottalized finally:[1]

The negative tense morphemes,
ideophones,
attributives,
locatives,
function elements (but note séeda),
etc.

49] The final syllable of a breath group with question or serial intonation is very rarely glottalized. When optional and chosen, final glottalization seems to indicate that more clauses in the same unit are to follow. When it occurs inside a clause, it is probably due to an interruption. The absence of glottal stop at the end of a final intonation contour indicates the end of a larger gramatical unit (usually a series of clauses). Otherwise its absence does not appear significant.

50] 1.423. Contrastive terminal intonation on breath groups begins with the last stressed syllable of a breath group and continues to the end. In rapid speech one breath group may comprise what is normally more than one breath group. The expected terminal intonation pattern may be evident at the points of expected pause though modified.

51] Continued sustained intonation to the pause break signifies that the pause was optional, stylistic or explanatory. This is marked by a comma.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-$\overrightarrow{\text{'ɗmmi'}}$, ɓe-$\overrightarrow{\text{ndílli'}}$,<br>ɗáɓɓitoŋgo $\overset{\curvearrowright}{\text{jáwdi}}$'. MS 79.8 | They got up, they went,<br>to search riches. |

---

[1] In all other forms it is optional.

In this example this whole utterance could have been said in one breath group, so that the pauses marked by commas are optional or stylistic here.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-yéhi haa-ɓii-kíla', o-víi-mo ndáa...MS 102.7 | He went to daughter [of] the smith, he told her: "Here..." |

This is an explanatory pause since that which follows the pause is a result or fuller explanation of the preceding and only in very rapid speech would this pause be omitted.

52] A sustained intonation with a final pre-pause rise in pitch denotes a serial count or a minor question in which the speaker indicates he knows the response and will proceed to give it in the next breath group. It may simply be a question with a question word. This pre-pausal intonation is marked by -?.

| | |
|---|---|
| wáddi kuróori-? gértogal-? nyébbam-? léɓɓe-? mánda-? cítta-?...MS 97.2 | Brought flour, chicken, oil, wood, salt, pepper... |
| to-'iyéende tóɓi-? gáwri-ma fúdi. MS 106.4 | If rain falls, corn-your will sprout. |
| 'o-víi-mo wáay-? MS 109.2 | He said to him, friend? |
| wóodi-na-? M 185.1 | Is there? (Is there any?) |

53] A lowered intonation with a final rise indicates a question. It is marked by a question mark.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-wári? MS XIIB | Did you come? |
| ɓii-kíla máayaay? MS 102.5 | Daughter-smith not die? (Didn't the smith's daughter die?) |
| mbí'an to-'a-hóoti 'a-ɓáŋgan? MS 80.4 | You say, if you go home you will marry? |

54] A falling intonation indicates a major break and is marked by a period.

| | |
|---|---|
| kǫ́omoy múnya-mo héɓatáa ɓo.<br>MS 186.4 | Whoever courts her will not get her |
| góɗɗo féere-boo lúutoy.<br>MS 186.6 | Person-another then just missed [it]. |

However, if the final syllable of the breath group is glottalized, a continuation is indicated (see 49). The absence of this glottal would then indicate that the break was a larger one as in the two above examples.

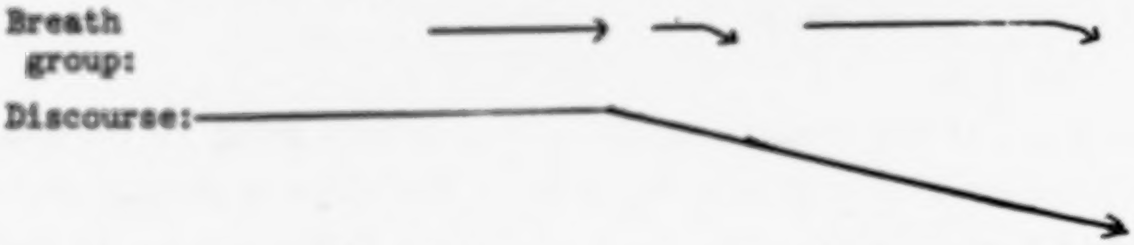
| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-mári léddi', gállure máapindiire | He owned country, city-large |
| bee-jáma'aaje'. bee-jáwle máɓɓe...<br>MS 186.1 | with peoples, and riches-their |

A fading volume is sometimes superimposed on the intonation pattern to indicate a more important close.

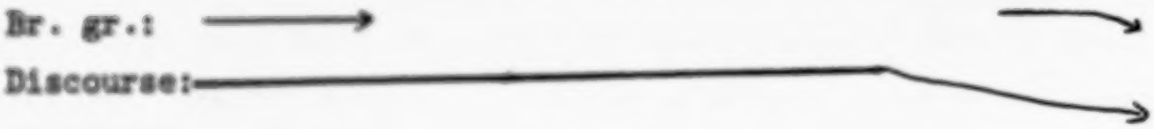
### 55] 1.43 Discourse Units

Discourse units are normally closed with a fadeout and a lowering of pitch over the last one to three breath groups. This is, of course, superimposed on the breath group intonation and may largely obliterate it.

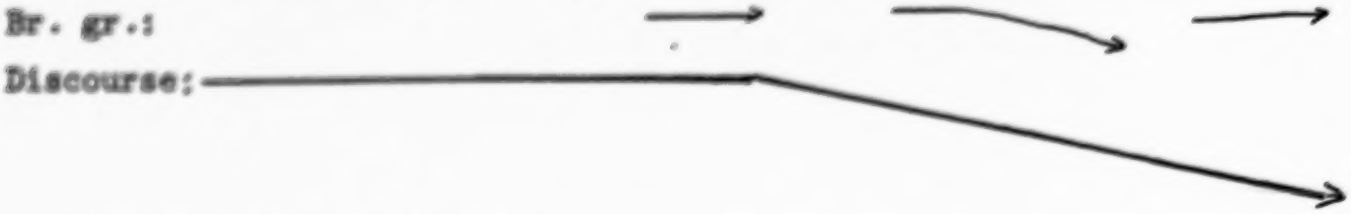
sáarde tetètte mùuɗum pà⃰t, máayi. kányum wòn tímmi. MS IX A


Breath group:
Discourse:

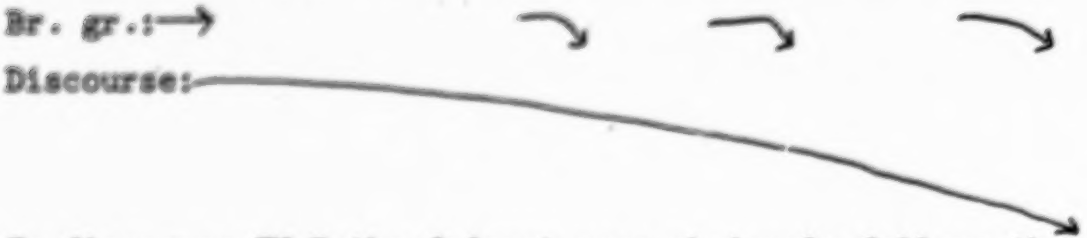
...jínni dà⃰t, wálaa ko-'o-lúttiri kóo mísidala járati.


Br. gr.:
Discourse:

nonnón ɓíirabáddel', débbo-go wúrtiri', haa-máako nonnón. láafere?,


Br. gr.:
Discourse:

wáɗi-moʔ, ɓérnde màako tá'i. 'o-máayi. háala jínni. MS IX B 56.10


Br. gr.:
Discourse:

In discourse IX B the fadeout more obviously follows the discourse intonation than the regular intonation pattern.

## CONSONANT CLUSTERS

| $C_1$ $C_2$ | p | t | k | b | d | g | ɓ | ɗ | ' | mb | nd | ŋg | nj | m | n | ny | ŋ | l | r | w | y | s | f | h | c | j | z | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 10 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 12 |
| t | 37 | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | 29 | 54 | | 6 | 30 | 181 | 49 | 16 | 54 | 58 | | | | | 517 |
| k | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | X | 5 | | 29 | 23 | 34 | 3 | 7 | 21 | | | | | | 125 |
| b | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | 13 | 10 | | 6 | 2 | | | | | | 34 |
| d | | | | | | 3 | 5 | | | | | | | 19 | 19 | 1 | 4 | 33 | 62 | 11 | 10 | 13 | 1 | | | | | 181 |
| g | | 3 | | | | | 4 | 4 | | | | | | 2 | 16 | | 1 | 3 | 33 | X | 13 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 81 |
| ɓ | | | | | | | | 8 | | | | | | 18 | 2 | 2 | | 15 | 12 | 11 | 4 | 9 | | | | | | 81 |
| ɗ | | 1 | | | | 1 | 5 | | | | | | | 23 | 17 | 3 | X | 10 | 36 | 17 | 17 | 6 | | | | | | 136 |
| ' | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | 5 |
| mb | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| nd | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 6 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | 25 |
| ŋg | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 8 | | | | | | 22 |
| nj | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| m | | | | | | | 1 | 4 | | | | | | | 26 | | | 9 | 7 | 12 | 5 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 66 |
| n | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | | | | | | 10 | | | | 6 | 57 | 55 | 39 | 13 | 14 | | | | 2 | 206 |
| ny | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| ŋ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| l | | | 6 | 4 | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | 15 | 13 | 10 | 8 | | | | | | 58 |
| r | | | 1 | 8 | | 1 | 15 | | | | | | | 13 | | 1 | X | | | 35 | 15 | 3 | 12 | | | | | 104 |
| w | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 5 | | | 33 | 6 | X | 5 | 1 | | | | | | 50 |
| y | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | X | 1 | X | X | | | | | | | 2 |
| s | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | 5 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 21 | 4 | 1 | | | | | | | 37 |
| f | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | 4 | | | | | | | | | 8 |
| h | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 1 | 2 | 5 | | | | | | | 11 |
| c | 1 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 14 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 22 |
| j | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 8 | 11 | | 1 | 7 | 3 | X | 1 | | | | | | | 31 |
| z | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| | 39 | 13 | 11 | 13 | 1 | 6 | 35 | 19 | | | | | | 144 | 172 | 7 | 43 | 198 | 503 | 221 | 159 | 142 | 87 | | | | 3 | 1816 |

NOTE: Geminate clusters are not included. X indicates that there is a known occurrence.

57] The following list of words is given to illustrate infrequent occurrences of consonant clusters which are marked on the preceding chart. The source and type of word are given in the letters following the words. For example, dóktər MA-B indicates that the word dóktər is found in a text by Marta Adama and that it is a borrowed word. Other abbreviations are MS = Mallum Saalihu, M = Mallum Muhammadu, Ma = Maroua, ND = Ngaoundéré, TT = Timotheé Teeri, G = Garoua, P = poetry, FO = formulaic word, ? = origin unknown, A = Arabic, F = Fulani.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bámyo | M-Name | gáble | MS-P |
| Báwsi | M-Name | | |
| beléwɓasa | MS-P | hárfuure | M-F |
| búrfuwol | MS-F | Háwsaare | M-Name |
| bárcébrecébrecébrecébrecébré | | TT-FO | |
| | | jétsemani | M-B |
| mbàrmbárni | MS-F | jísmu | MS-P |
| | | júutɗum | G-F |
| ɓáŋtugo | M-F | | |
| ɓeléwɓasa | MS-P | kábna | MA-F? |
| | | kálawhu | MS-P |
| cáble | MS-P | kálfa-mmi | MA-F |
| cètcètcèt | MS-FO | kárfuuje | M-F |
| cípcipel | MS-Fo | kiiryɛ́t | MS-FO |
| | | kíriripkira | MS-P |
| dáŋde | ?-F | kíriripkin | MS-P |
| dókta'en | MA-B | kólce | MA-F |
| dóktər | MA-B | | |
| Dúrbey'en | M-F | láyhaaji | M-F |
| | | láysalahu | MS-P |
| Ndéntiŋgeleŋ | MS-Name | líw'unuru | MS-P |
| Firdówsi | M-A | mállaharitgi | MS-P |
| fulfúlde | M-F | mállum'en | M-F |
| | | másla | MS-P |

| | |
|---|---|
| mátubeléwšasa | MS-FO |
| mátuyeléwšasa | MS-FO |
| Míkilain | M-Name |
| patáwsi | M-F |
| pȁwpáwni | MA-F |
| pálpéle | MA-F |
| púkar'en | M-F |
| sákráaŋgu | Ma-F |
| sáyhu | MS-F |
| sáyhugo | MS-F |
| sír'irde | MS-F |
| táŋdaŋ | MS-FO |
| táwhiidi | ?- |
| tútsuwit | MS-B |
| wádno | ND-F |
| wágno | ND-F |
| wálkulhu | MS-F |
| wásšu | MS-F |
| wáyhi | MS-F |
| wáyhifsu | MS-F |
| wá'iŋda | MS-F |
| wódše | MA-F |
| 'ákbar | G-A |
| 'áŋfi | MS-F |
| 'hašmaruu | MS-FO |
| 'hama'ína | MS-F |
| 'ikrdáni | MS-F |
| 'ikrdánii | MS-F |
| 'iŋsdánu | MS-FO |
| 'íznayatu | MS-F |
| 'ízni | M-? |
| 'íznu | MS-F |

# CHAPTER 2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

## 2.1 General rules

59] 2.11 Sequence limit

Although many stems end in a sequence of two consonants, and suffixes may begin with a consonant, sequences of more than two consonant phonemes do not occur.

60] 2.111 In the nominal system the non-permitted sequences are avoided by the occurrence of a vowel identical with that of the following morpheme at the morpheme boundary:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wáanc- | + | -ru | > | wáancuru | a walk |
| njáwd- | + | -ri | > | njáwdiri | ram |
| tépp- | + | -re | > | téppere | heel |
| mó"- | + | -re | > | mó"ere | favor, blessing |
| wúrd- | + | -re | > | wúrdere | hole, window |
| dóomb- | + | -ru | > | dóomburu | rat |

61] 2.112 In the verbal system the kind of vowel which occurs at morpheme boundaries to avoid non-permitted sequences is determined by the morpheme which follows.

62] 1) In the variable stem extension morphemes (see 217 ff.) the full forms of the morphemes occur following roots ending in double consonants.[1]

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hókk- | + | {-it-} | > | hókkit- | to give again |
| tímm- | + | {-in-} | > | tímmin- | to finish (causative) |
| wárt- | + | {-ir-} | > | wártir- | to come back a certain way |
| jápt- | + | {-id-} | > | jáptid- | confiscate, take away |

---

[1] This problem does not usually exist in the emphatic and passive voices since the suffixal morphemes always have a vowel initial. séniiɗo 'holy one' (emphatic voice).

The following examples show what happens when the stem extensions (-it-) and (-ir-) follow clusters and single consonants.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | nán | + | -e | | | > | náne | listen |
| | nán | + | (-it-) | + | -e | > | nánte | listen again |
| | tímm | + | (-it-) | + | -i | > | tímmiti | finished again |
| b) | tág- | + | (-ir) | + | -i | > | tágri | created |
| | jáŋg- | + | (-ir-) | + | -de | > | jáŋgirde | school |
| | hóos- | + | (-it-) | + | -a | > | hóosita | |
| c) | hól | + | -ɗo | | | > | | |
| | kól | + | ɗo | | | > | kólɗo | unclothed person |
| | hól- | + | (-it-) | + | ɗo | > | | |
| | kól | + | -t- | + | -ii- + ɗo | > | kóltiiɗo | clothed person |

63] 2) In the case of infinitive or nominal suffixation to verb stems ending in a consonant cluster, u occurs between the stem and the suffix in the active voice.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | tókk- | + | -ɗo | > | tókkuɗo | he who follows |
| | márd- | + | (-ɗaa) | > | márdu-ɗaa | you own completely (inverted) |
| cf. | már- | + | (-ɗaa) | > | már-ɗaa | you own (inverted) |
| | nánt- | + | -mi | > | nántu-mi | I heard again (inverted) |
| | támm- | + | -nde | > | támmunde | hope |
| | wárt- | + | -go | > | wártugo | to come back |

There are, however, other conditions under which this u appears even when the preceding consonant is single (see 83 and cf. 217).

64] 2.12 Non-permitted sequences of consonants

Certain sequences of consonants do not occur (see the chart, 56). For many of these the following rules explain the processes by which such sequences are averted.

65] The sequence glottal stop or h plus consonant does not occur. The following rules are ordered.

1) a' (within a morpheme) > ay preceding a consonant in a suffix.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| há'- | + | -re | > | háyre | stone |
| tá'- | + | -re | > | táyre | cut (of meat, for example) |
| sá'- | + | (-it-) + -i | > | sáyti | fried again |

2) Following a stem with initial voiceless fricative (h, s, f), and final glottal, ' + ɓ/ɗ becomes y + ɓ/ɗ.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hóo'- | + | -ɗo | > | hóoyɗo | one who took |
| há'- | + | -ɗo | > | háyɗo | worthy one |

3) Stem final V'/Vh + C becomes long vowel + consonant.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hóo'- | + | (-ir-) + i | > | hóori | took away |
| yáh- | + | -mi | > | njáa-mi | went I |
| té'- | + | -ɗo | > | téeɗo | married person |
| ví'- | + | -mi | > | mbíi-mi | said I |
| ɓáh- | + | -ru | > | ɓáaru | quiver |
| jí'- | + | -re | > | jíire | ground squirrel |
| yáh- | + | -re | > | yáare | scorpion |
| té'- | + | -gal | > | téegal | marriage |
| bé'- | + | -wa | > | mbéewa | goat |
| hó'- | + | -re | > | hóore | head |

66] Voiced stops (b, d, g, ɓ, ɗ) are devoiced at morpheme boundaries preceding voiceless stops:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| móoɓ- | + | (-it-) + -i | > | | |
| móoɓ- | + | -t- + -i | > | móopti | to assemble |
| ɗúuɗ- | + | -koy | > | ɗúutkoy | many little ones |

67] Stem final '/h/m + an initial prenasalized consonant in the suffix (ŋg, nd, mb, nj) becomes '/h/m + g/d/b/j

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| té'- | + | (-ŋgal) | > | té'- + -gal | > | téegal | marriage |
| yáh- | + | (-ndu) | > | yáh- + -du | > | yáadu | pace, walk |
| láaɓ- | + | (-nde) | > | láam- + (-nde) | > | láamde | clean NDE[1] |
| ɗém- | + | (-ŋgal) | > | ɗémgal | | | tongue |
| wáam- | + | (-ŋgo) | > | wáamgo | | | a pagan village |

See paragraphs 106 and 117 for similar statements.

68] The sequence consonant plus y does not occur.[2] Dependent pronoun plus far demonstrative morpheme (see 208):

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| -ɗam- | + | (-ya) | > | ɗáma |
| -ŋgel- | + | (-ya) | > | ŋgéla |

69] Although some of the following rules are illustrated by single examples they form part of an overall pattern.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) n + l | > | ll | són- | + | -li | > | cólli | birds |
| 2) l + r | > | ld | halhál- | + | -ri | > | kalháldi | virile bull |
| 3) t + r | > | r | wóot- | + | -re | > | wóore | one NDE |
| | | | wóot- | + | -ru | > | wóoru | one NDU |
| | | | wóot- | + | -ri | > | ŋgóori | one NDI |
| 4) n + r | > | nd | hén- | + | -ru | > | héndu | wind |
| | > | rr | nán- | + | -re | > | nárre | left hand NDE |
| | | | wón- | + | -r- | > | wórr- | to be in a certain way |

5) When a stem ending in the sequence consonant plus m precedes a suffix with an initial consonant, a vowel identical to that of the stem will occur between the consonant cluster of the stem.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dákm- | + | (-ɗam) | > | dakámjam | sweet liquid |
| ɗélm- | + | -ɗum | > | ɗeléмɗum | soft DUM |

---

[1] Capital letters are used for the class names, as well as in references to the classes.

[2] Except in borrowed words or ideophones. cf. Káwye 'hamlet' from Hausa.

6) j plus stop becomes y plus stop.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| yáaj- | + | -ɗum | > | jáayɗum | wide ƊUM |

70] The following rules are ordered and are a combination of rules described in 59 ff. Although all the examples come from the nominal system there is no evidence that these are not general rules.

When the full form of the nominal suffix is suffixed to a verbal stem with a short vowel preceding a stem final w, the initial consonant of the suffix is denasalized. However, in the case of the verb stem occurring with a short vowel preceding stem final wn, only the nasal of the verb root is deleted.

When the final w of the verbal stem follows a short vowel, and the initial of the following suffix is a velar stop, the w is assimilated to the velar stop. When the initial of the following suffix is a prenasalized stop, the stem final w is deleted.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| máwn- | + | {-ɓe} | > | máwɓe | big people |
| máwn- | + | {-ɗam} | > | máwɗam | big ƊAM |
| máwn- | + | {-nde} | > | máwnde | big NDE |
| máwn- | + | {-ka} | > | máw- + -ka > makka | big KA |
| máwn- | + | {-ŋgu} | > | máw- + {-ŋgu} > máŋgu | big NGU |
| wáw | + | {-ŋgu} | > | mbáw- + -gu > mbággu | drum |
| wáw | + | {-ɗe} | > | báwɗe | drums |
| láw- | + | {-ŋgel} | > | láwgel | small speed |
| ɓów | + | {-ɗe} | > | ɓówɗe | baobab trees |
| ɓów- | + | {-ki} | > | ɓókki | baobab tree |
| ɓów- | + | {-ŋgol} | > | ɓów- + -gol > ɓóggol[1] | rope |

## 71] 2.13 Phoneme reduction and vowel harmony

When a stem extension is followed by two or more suffixes of which the one immediately following the stem extension begins with a short vowel, that short vowel is deleted.

---

[1] However, the plural of ɓóggol is ɓóggi which is formed by analogy from the singular rather than from the root as though the root were ɓógg-.

| Verb root | Stem ext. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sáal- | -or- | -atoo | > | sáalortoo | will pass by in a certain way |
| hón- | (-ir) | -atáa | > | hónirtaa | will not fight in a certain way |
| wáɗ- | -an- | -atáa | > | wáɗantaa | will not do for (someone) |
| nyíɓ- | -an- | -at-e | > | nyíɓant-e | will build for you |
| 'ámm- | (-in-) | -at-e | > | 'ámmint-e | will raise you up |

72] When a suffix with vowel plus t is followed by another suffix or clitic beginning with a vowel, the vowel of the first suffix becomes the same as that of the following suffix.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wáɗ- | + | (-at-) | + | -en | > | mbáɗet-en | we will do |
| ví'- | + | (-at-) | + | -on | > | mbí'ot-on | you will say |
| mbár- | + | (-at-) | + | -am | > | mbárat-am | will kill me |
| l̊áat- | + | (-at-) | + | -oo | > | ɬáatotoo | will become |
| ví'- | + | (-at-) | + | -e | > | ví'ete | is called |

The vowel of the possessive marker (maa-) is harmonized with the vowel of the following -den and -don suffix (see 168).

(máa-) + -den > méeden

(máa-) + -don > móodon

73] 2.14 Variation in vowel length

Although it is very evident that vowel length is phonemic (see 4), and there are numerous minimal pairs in stressed positions to support this analysis, vowel length in affixes is neutralized word finally and often predictable elsewhere.

74] 2.141 The phonemes of length and stress in syllable final ee and aa[1] vowels of the tense-aspect system, the second person object pronoun, the second person inverted order pronoun and the pre-time clitic -n̲o̲o̲ are neutralized in final position in simple words and also before the second person inverted order pronoun (-ɗaa), but not before clitics within the complex word.

---

[1] Note that the morpheme (-ii) (polite request) is never altered.

75] The negative morpheme (-ɗa).

| | |
|---|---|
| [mi-yíɗa̲] MS 92.2 | I don't want. |
| [mi-yíɗa̲ sám] MA 145.7 | I don't want at all. |
| [...ví'ata̲] MS 199.8 | ...is not said |
| ['a-yíɗa̲ néldugo-yam rédiyo] MS 203.7̄ | You don't want to send me a radio. |
| [to-yiɗá̲a̲-boo-ʔ] MA 105.6 | If one does not want [it]. |

Note that stress on the preceding syllable is sometimes reduced.

| | |
|---|---|
| [mi-yìɗa̲a̲-ma] MA 129.1 | I don't want you |
| [mi-dímbatà̲a̲-boo] G 152.8 | I won't budge either |
| [ɓe-táwatá̲a̲-kam] MA 144.5 | they couldn't find me |

Compare with the active morpheme -a̲.

| | |
|---|---|
| [mín fùɗɗata̲] MS 103.7 | I am the one who will start |
| [mínin 'eɓwnata̲-mo] MS 203.3 | We will call him |
| ['On-ándina̲-boo] M 181.2 | That you also make known |
| ['Álla yíɗa̲-mo][1] ND 86.8 | that God love her |

76] The second person plural imperative morpheme (-ee).

| | |
|---|---|
| [ŋgáre̲] MS 91.6 | come |
| ['éme̲ kumáarewal] MS 91.6 | ask the crown bird |
| ['úmme̲ lawláw] MA 132.8 | get up on the double |
| [píste̲e̲-le] MS 91.6 | unloosen [it] then |
| [táa mbáre̲e̲-mo] MS 2.10 | Don't kill him |

---

[1] cf. [...pát ŋgìɗáa-mo] MS 76.5 'all did not like him'

| | |
|---|---|
| [ndókkorée-ɗan biriiji] MS 96.7 | Give me peanuts |
| [ŋgéenee-ɗan][1] MS 97.1 | pay me |

Compare with the passive morpheme -e.

| | |
|---|---|
| [to-táwe-ma hánde-?] MS 106.3 | If you are found today... |
| [ɓúri ko-wólwe] MS 82.4 | surpasses speech |
| [góɗɗo ví'ete Núuhu][2] M 176.1 | a man named Noah |

77) The second person inverted order pronoun (-ɗaa)[3]

| | |
|---|---|
| ['aán bee-ko-nómat-a. Dáada-am bee-ko-nómata.] MS 63.7 | You with what you think. My mother with what [she] thinks. |
| [ndéen-a Ndéentindeleŋ] MS 94.5 | You wait for Ndéentindeleŋ. |
| [kánje ŋgiɗ-ɗa.] MS 200.1 | That DE [is the one] you want. |
| [no-nómtu-ɗa?] MS 102.2 | What do you think? |
| [mi-yíɗi káwt-aa-min] MS 186.4 | I want you to introduce us. |
| [...njógor-ɗaa-mi...] MS 188.6 | you carry [for] me in a certain way |
| [no-képtir-aa-ŋgel] MS 70.4 | how you will find it |

78) The second person object pronoun (-maa).

| | |
|---|---|
| [mi-tórake-ma] M 176.6 | I beg you |
| [mi-tàwatáa-mà.] M 184.7 | I do not find you. |
| [ndéy 'ékkitinan-maa-mi?] AB 10.14 | When will I teach you? |
| [káŋka mbli-no-maa-mi] MS 57.3 | That is what I told you. |

---

[1] Note also [képtee mo-ɓúri] MS 80.3

[2] The same form within a word: [mbí'etéeka] M 183.5 'called'

[3] It must be emphasized that vowel length is neutralized rather than that vowel length is not present. One can cite examples where length is present in word final positions, e. g. [káɓɓ-aa yímɓe] MS 95.2 'You tie people up'. However, MS 63.7 in 77 shows that length is not contrastive in this position. At present we cannot always predict when the neutralized vowel will be long, but this could simply be due to the fact that the language of Mal-Ɓaali and other Adamawa speakers is now changing at this point. For -aa/-ɗaa alternation see 175.

79] The emphatic (and passive)[1] future {-otoo}.

| | |
|---|---|
| ['en-ndó"oto.] M 181.4 | We will fall. |
| [gúde ɗíɗiɗíɗi 'o-hááddoto.] MS 56.3 | Sarongs two-two she will wear. (She wears two sarongs at a time.) |
| [sáa'i, 'ómmotoo-mi, bee-yóŋki] M 4.1 | When I will arise with life |

80] The pre-time clitic {-noo}.

| | |
|---|---|
| [min-njéhi-no] M 178.2 | We had gone |
| [mi-náŋget-e-no] M 178.5 | I would have caught you |
| [ɗònɗón táw-noo-mi!] MA 129.3 | Here I had found it<br>(Here is where I found it) |

81] However, when two syllable final long vowel morphemes are juxtaposed within a complex word the vowel of the first morpheme is short.

| | |
|---|---|
| [káŋka mbli-no-maa-mi] MS 57.3 | That is what I told you. |

82] 2.142 Vowels[2] (other than those examined in 74-81) preceding class suffixes, infinitives and inverted pronouns are long unless the class suffix or pronoun begins with a semivowel or faucal y, w, ', h.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [sóobaajo] | friend | 'O |
| [sóoba'en] | friends | 'EN |
| [sóobaaku] | friendship | NGU |
| [ɓáleeje] | black | DE |

---

[1] I would expect the future passive -etee to fit into this pattern but I have no examples of it before clitics within a complex word.

[2] Although it would be logical to write these vowels long wherever they occur, in the present work we have chosen to indicate the variant forms in order not to depart too much from the way in which Fulani is usually written.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [ɓáleere] | black | NDE |
| [ɓáleha] | black | KA |
| [ɓálewa] | black | NGA |
| [ɓáleyel] | black | NGEL |
| [ɓáleeɓe] | black people | BE |
| [súkaaku] | youth | NGU |
| [wálliinde] | help | NDE |
| [ndóttiwa] | grand old man | NGA |
| [ndóttiijo] | old man | 'O |
| [húɗohoy] | small grasses | KOY |
| [húɗooji] | various grasses | DI |
| [húɗo] | grass | KO (sg) |
| [húɗoho] | big grasses | KO (pl)<br>(derived from húɗo) |
| [kóombowal] | boat | NGAL |
| [kóombooje] | boats | DE |
| [háako] | legume | KO (sg) |
| [háakoore] | legume pot | NDE (derived from háako) |

When preceding infinitives:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [sáppeego] | to be pointed at | passive verbal inf. |
| [púteeki] | the act of being duped | passive nominal inf. |
| [jóoɗaago] | to sit | emphatic verbal inf. |

83] 2.143 Although the general rule in paragraph 82 applies to a large majority of the cases, there are several stateable exceptions.

Euphonious infixes (cf. 63) are not lengthened.

| | | Preceding: |
|---|---|---|
| [wádduɓe] | those who brought | pl. person class |
| [wártugo] | to come back | active verbal inf. |
| [wártuki] | the coming back | active nominal inf. |
| [kéɗu-ɗon] | you listen | 2nd pers. pl. inverted |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [lúgguka] | deep [hole] | KA |
| ['éwnu-mi] | I called | 1st person sg. inverted |
| [támmo-ɗa] | you would think | 2nd person sg. inverted |

Unlike the derivational suffixes, the short suffixes have no vowel unless required by euphony (see 60).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [wáancuru] | a walk | NDU |
| [lúggere] | hole, valley | NDE |
| [déftere] | book | " |
| [fáɗɗere] | fainting | " |
| [sáŋgere][1] | camp | " |
| [tínyere][1] | onions | " |
| [hálkere] | perishability | " |

The morpheme {-oo-} 'habitual' is not shortened.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [hónooɓe] | warriors | ƁE |
| [kónoowo] | warrior | 'O |
| [kónooyel] | small warriors | NGEL |
| [mútooye] | that which sets | NGE |

In some words, when the vowel preceding the class suffixes, inverted pronoun and infinitives is a part of the stem, this vowel is not altered. Some of these words are known to be borrowed.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [jahánnamaaye] | from jahánnamaa- | + | -ye | hell (Arabic) |
| [máapindijo] | from máapindi- | + | -jo | huge person |
| [kíikiɗe] | from kíiki- | + | -ɗe | afternoon |

Compare also:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [hábaru] | from hábar- | + | -u | news (Arabic) |
| [dábare] | from dábar- | + | -e | stratagem |
| [lábange] | from lábaŋg- | + | -e | bridle |

---

[1] sáŋgere and tínyere have derived plurals with derivational suffixes in which the regular rule applies: tínyeeje 'various kinds of onions.'

## 84] 2.15 Alternation of initial consonants of roots

There are eight base or 'fricative' consonants that alternate with seven 'stops' and also with these stops prenasalized. The alternation system operates with roots that are inflected and the type of inflection determines the type of alternation or non-alternation of the base consonant.

When the root is inflected with a verbal suffix the alternation will not take place if the subject is singular, but if the subject is plural, the initial consonant will become a 'stop'.

When the root is inflected with a nominal suffix the alternation is dependent on the class of the suffix. If the suffix is of the NDE, NDU, NGE, NGO, KO (singular), or ƁE classes, the alternation will not take place. If the suffix is of NGAL, NGEL, NGOL, NGUM, KI, KAL, ƊE, ƊI, 'O, or ƊUM classes, the second stage or 'stop' alternation will occur in the initial consonant. If the suffix is of the NDI, NGA, NGU, KA, KO (plural), KOY or ƊAM classes, the initial consonant will be the full or prenasalized consonant.

For further explanation with examples and charts see nouns 109-113 and verbs 213-214.

## 85] 2.16 Alternation of semivowels

The final consonant of a syllable can be a semivowel, y or w (see 3). Preceding consonants and following their vowel counterparts, semivowels will not retain their identity but will fuse with the preceding vowel to form a long vowel, unless the preceding vowel is already long, in which case the semivowel will disappear and the vowel will remain long, i.e.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| fíy- | + | -i | | | > | fíyi | beat |
| fíy- | + | -ɗe | | | > | píiɗe | beatings |
| yúw- | + | -i | | | > | yúwi | speared |
| yúw- | + | {-it-} | + | -i- | > | yúuti | speared oneself |
| kúuw- | + | -i | | | > | kúuwi as in ɓe-kúuwi | they worked |
| kúuw- | + | {-id} | + | -i- | > | kúudi as in ɓe-kúudi | they worked together |

86] 2.17 Morphological stress

Word level stress is morphological in that it is predictably related to morphemes in most cases. That is, all roots are stressed and this accounts for most morpheme level stress. We may have minimal pairs where stress is the only differentiating factor, e.g. 'O-kísnoowo-'on 'he is your savior,' 'O-kísnoowo-'ón 'he is that savior.' There are, however, some exceptions which are best explained by reference to phonological factors.

While morpheme stress may be considered basic, phrase stress and breath group stress may be superimposed on morpheme stress so that certain morphemes will become destressed. See 41 ff. The following is an outline of the occurrence and non-occurrence of stress:

87] 2.171 Stressed elements

A) 1-2) Adjectival and verbal roots are stressed on the first syllable of the root.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɓál- | + | -ɗum | > | ɓáleejum | black DUM |
| máapindi- | + | -nde | > | máapindire | huge NDE |
| wár- | + | -i | > | wári | came |
| láar- | + | -i | > | láari | saw |
| wáyl- | + | -i | > | wáyliti | turn over, translate |
| hákkil- | + | -i | > | hákkili | heeded |

88] 3) Nominal roots of one and two syllables are usually stressed on the first syllable of the root.

In nominal roots of two or more syllables, if the last or next to last syllable is long,[1] and the preceding syllable(s) short, the long syllable will be stressed unless $C_1$ of the second syllable is h.[1]

---

[1] A long syllable is one containing a long vowel or a final consonant or both.

| | |
|---|---|
| kumáare=wal[2] | crown birds |
| dewéerɗ=iiko'en | brothers |
| rawáa=ndu | dog |
| dalíila | purpose |
| linjíila | gospel |
| yaɗíi=ri | cattail guinea corn |
| Jemíita | name of a town |
| sáhaa=re | cunning |

89] Reduplicated roots or reduplicated stressed function words occur with stress on both elements but the stress on the first element is minor stress, and that of the second more prominent[3] (see 41 and 46).

| | |
|---|---|
| mbàrmbárni | cause to kill completely |
| pàwpáwni | really spruce up |
| tetéki | guts |
| fèereféere | different |
| làwláw | very quickly |

90] B) Non-inflected element~~s—~~

1) Ideophones (see 31-38 ) such as pát and kurúm; but note péŋeleŋ.

2) In function words which are not inflected, stress usually occurs on the first syllable.

---

[1] Note, however, Yahúuda='en 'Jews.'

[2] Here, the equals sign marks the root and suffix boundary.

[3] When in a breath group with no following stressed syllable. It appears that this rule would apply to any word with two stressed morphemes. Cf. ɗo'àccáay. with ɓè-'áccàay víigo ha-nón. M 178.2-3.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ámmaa[1] | but |
| ndén | then |
| bánye | near |
| jónta | now |
| hákkunde | between |

However, the expletive 'asée 'really' has stress on the final syllable.

91] 2.172 Non-stressed elements

A) Clitics

1) Dependent pronouns are not stressed. They can act as subject or object of a verb.

| | |
|---|---|
| -mi- | I, me |
| -ŋge- | it |

2) Some short nouns are not stressed.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓii- | son |
| mal- | teacher |

3) Certain function elements connecting clauses or larger units are non-stressed.

| | |
|---|---|
| bee- | with |
| 'e- | and |
| -boo | also |
| to- | if |

B) Nominal or verbal suffixes

Nominal or verbal suffixes, except the negative suffix (see 75), are non-stressed.

---

[1] Mallum Muhammadu occasionally pronounces this word 'àmmáa, perhaps under Hausa influence. In a clitic, a final open syllable with a long unstressed vowel may be stressed for emphasis, cf. -boo, bee-, haa-. When not stressed, length is neutralized.

## 92] 2.2 Rules applying to limited items of speech

For some speakers, the consonant of the morpheme {-at-} (future tense morpheme) is partially assimilated to a following stop with regard to voicing and glottalization (see 241):

{-at-} + -boo > mi-fóofad-boo MS 57.4
{-at-} + -ɗo > kísnàɗɗo M 17.14
{-at-} + -ɓe > wóɗanàɗɓe M 6.5

There are several special rules governing the singular-plural distinction which are described in 158-162.

The combination -n- + {-ɗam} becomes -ndam as in kisndam and ŋgeendam, for many speakers of Adamawa Fulani.

There are certain morphophonemic changes which are either not used by all speakers or which cannot be stated as a general pattern.

'íw + {-it-} + -i > 'ífti came from again
lóow- + {-it} + -i > lóofti poured again

The combination w + t remains unchanged at certain other morpheme boundaries:

tów- + {-it-} + -i > tówti was high again

There are other changes which are either stylistic or dialectal:

tontón > tottón over there

For rules governing the emphatic pronouns (kámɓe, etc.), the far demonstratives (ŋgála, ŋgéya, etc.), and the nominal class interrogatives (ndúye, ndúyeeru, etc.) see 186 and 208-209.

# CHAPTER 3 NOMINALS

## 93] 3.1 Nouns

Nouns are words which may occur with a class suffix and which fill head, genitival or attributive positions in noun phrases (see 331-336).[1] The composition of the noun may be represented by the following (which is a generalization and does not include many restrictions):

Noun = non-derived nouns (Class suffix) (-'en).[2]

Non-derived nouns = non-class nouns (Class suffix) or
stem + class suffix

Stem = { adjectival stem or
verb stem[3] or
noun stem

Adjectives are nouns composed of verb stems or adjective stems plus class suffixes. They fill attributive positions in noun phrases.

Most nouns are composed of stem plus class suffix.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| góoto | one person | adjective stem | + | 'O |
| kúlŋgel | fearful little one | verb stem | + | NGEL |
| kúrol | arrow | noun stem | + | NGOL |

## 94] 3.11 Compound nouns

Compound nouns[4] consist of a verb stem plus -a plus a noun with or without the derivational form of the suffix.

---

[1] Time words are excluded from this category because they normally fill other positions and do not usually occur with class suffixes (see 269-273).

[2] An item enclosed in parentheses indicates that it is an optional item.

[3] The 'verb stem' in a noun is not quite the same as that in verbs, (see 98).

[4] Compare constructions such as baa-Háman (see footnote to paragraph 332).

| | |
|---|---|
| wéla-ɗemgáljo | eloquent man |
| < wél- | be sweet |
| + ɗémgal | tongue |
| + -jo | person |
| séelita-húnduko | slit mouthed one |
| < séelit- | cut into strips |
| + húnduko | mouth |
| sáata-kó'e'en | stubborn people |
| < sáat- | hard |
| + hó'- | head |
| + -'en | |

### 95] 3.12 Non-class nouns

Some of the stems are most frequently used without class suffixes and are called non-class nouns. Many kinship terms occur in this way:

| | |
|---|---|
| báaba | father |
| dáada | mother |
| káawu | mother's brother |
| máama | grandparent |
| káaka | great-grandparent |
| dewérɗu | sibling |
| sáaro | parents |

Many abstract or borrowed nouns are used without class suffix:

| | |
|---|---|
| bóne | woe |
| 'áybe | fault |
| hákke | sin |
| jámanu | era |
| 'ánnabi | prophet |

However, class nouns may be derived from non-class nouns by the addition of noun-class suffixes. The addition of a class suffix makes the meaning more specific.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| báabiraawo | < | báaba | + | -iraa- | + | 'O | good father |
| dáadawa | < | dáada | + | NGA | | | great mother |
| 'áybewol | < | 'áybe | + | NGOL | | | a fault |
| jámanuuru | < | jámanu | + | NDU | | | an era |

## 96] 3.13 Infinitives

The infinitive may act as a nominal. When it does, it fills a nominal position and is modified by nominal modifiers (see 341).

| | |
|---|---|
| jóoɗa jóoɗugo-ma MS 94.5 | Stay your staying.<br>(Sit right where you're sitting) |
| ɓíkkoy háa réenugo-go MS 96.5 | The children in that waiting.<br>(The children were still waiting) |
| yìdáago wóodaa M 2.13 | There is no help. |
| táa ɓe-mbára-mo bee-mbárugo MS 76.6 | They should not kill by killing.<br>(they shouldn't commit open murder) |

## 97] 3.14 Non-derived nouns

There are three kinds of nouns that are not derived from other nouns: those based on a noun stem, verb stem, or adjective stem.

3.141 Nouns based on noun stems occur with one of the singular suffixes and its plural (exclusive of the augmentative or diminutive).[1]

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kúrol - kúri | arrow | Noun stem | + | NGOL - DI | short suffixes |
| déftere - défte | book | Noun stem | + | NDE - DE | short suffixes |
| húunde - kúuje[2] | thing | Noun stem | + | full NDE - DE | suffixes |
| kósŋgal - kósɗe | foot | Noun stem | + | full NGAL - DE | suffixes |

---

[1] A few nouns in the NGA class have that class as base, see the NGA class (155-156).

[2] Irregular plural -je for expected -ɗe.

Nouns composed of noun stem plus suffix as above cannot be placed into any other regular class. They can, however, go into the diminutive or augmentative classes.

| | |
|---|---|
| kúra-ŋga | this large arrow |
| kúro-ko | these large arrows |
| kúrel-ŋgel | this little arrow |
| kúroy-koy | these little arrows |
| kúuŋga | large thing |
| kúuŋgel | small thing |
| kúuŋgum | nasty little thing (in a pejorative sense) |

Many nouns based on a noun stem are of a CVC(C)- or CVC(C)V- shape. Those stems occurring with a final consonant will usually occur with the short form[1] of the class suffix (see 107).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| láral | skin | NGAL |
| gése | fields | DE |

However, for those occurring with a double consonant, nd or n in stem final position, a vowel like that of the following suffix will occur between the stem and the suffix when the following suffix begins with an r[2]

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| wúrd- | + | -re | > | wúrdere | opening, window | NDE |
| jáwd- | + | -ri | > | njáwdiri | ram | NDI |
| dóomb- | + | -ru | > | dóomburu[3] | rat | NDU |

Stems occurring with a final second syllable vowel will often occur with the modified or derivational form of the class suffix (see 106).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ndóttiwa | venerated old man | NGA |
| túrmiwol | cloth | NGOL |

---

[1] Arnott calls these 'grades,' Klingenheban suffix stufen.

[2] This rule also applies to verb stems plus suffix.

[3] Sometimes, however, the word occurs as dóomru.

98] 3.142 Nouns derived from a verb stem normally occur with the full form (see 104) of the class suffix.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| máraaɗo | owned one | 'O |
| céniiŋga | great holy one | NGA |
| tórnde | prayer | NDE |

However, verb stems ending in a manner suffix will occur with the denasalized form (see 105).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| jáŋgirde | school | NDE |

The verb stem as used in noun-formations is not the same as the verb stem in the verb phrase (see 211-229). Verb stem here is verb root plus or minus stem extensions plus or minus tense, and voice or: $VS_n = VR(SE)(TV_n)$. Tense-voice markers are also modified.

Tense-Voice (TV) = past, future

$$\text{past} = \begin{cases} \text{past active} & \emptyset \\ \text{past emphatic} & \text{-ii-} \\ \text{past passive} & \text{-aa-} \end{cases}$$

$$\text{future} = \begin{cases} \text{future active} & \text{-at-} \\ \text{future emphatic} & \text{-otoo-} \\ \text{future passive} & \text{-etee-} \end{cases}$$

$\underbrace{\underbrace{\text{wáab}}_{\text{VR}}\underbrace{\text{otoo}}_{\text{TV}}}_{\text{VS}}\text{ɓe}$ M 180.4 — those who will argue

$\underbrace{\underbrace{\text{jágg}}_{\text{VR}}\underbrace{\text{an}}_{\text{SE}}\underbrace{\text{too}}_{\text{TV}}}_{\text{VS}}\text{ɓe}$ M — those who will serve (us)

$\underbrace{\underbrace{\text{dógg}}_{\text{VR}}\underbrace{\text{itir}}_{\text{SE's}}\underbrace{\text{tee}}_{\text{TV}}}_{\text{VS}}\text{ɗo}$ MS 68.3 — the one who will be made to run again in a certain way

Nouns based on a verb stem may be modified by verbal modifiers (VM).

kúsel . . . káccuŋgel d$\overset{*}{u}$s Ma 3.3 meat . . . smelly very
NS VS VM

99] 3.143 Nouns based on adjectival stems: There are certain stems which are adjectival. As opposed to verb stems, they cannot enter the verbal system, and as opposed to nominal stems they can freely enter into a combination with any class suffix. As nouns they can fill any position that other nouns fill (see noun phrase 330-349).

Some of the more common adjectival stems are:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓál- | black |
| rán- | white |
| wóɗ- | red |
| náy- | old |
| wóot- | one |
| fámar- | small |
| wór- | male |
| fáh- | deaf |

Some adjective nouns are composed of adjective roots plus -e- plus the derivational set of suffixes.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| black: | {ɓál-} | {-e-} | {-ki} | > | ɓálehi | black | KI |
| white: | {rán-} | {-e-} | {-ŋgel} | > | dáneyel | white | NGEL |
| red: | {wóɗ-} | {-e-} | {-ko(pl)} | > | mbóɗeho | (large) red | KO |
| old: | {náy-} | {-e-} | {-'o} | > | náyeejo | old person | |

Suffixes are applied directly to adjectives with a stem ending in a vowel.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| venerable: | {ndótti-} | {-ŋga} | > | ndóttiwa | venerable | NGA |

Adjectives modify other nouns and will occur with the same class suffix as that of the noun they modify.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| súudu | house | NDU |
| súudu wóoru | one house | N + adj. |
| cúura | big house | NGA |
| cúura ŋgóota | one big house | N + adj. |

Adjectives may be used pronominally and will then fill any noun position.

Káygama . . . mári ŋgóotu ND 3.15 Kaygama owned one [horse].

100] 3.15 Nouns derived from other nouns

Nouns derived from other nouns occur with derivational suffixes. The derivational set of suffixes (106 and 108) may be affixed to non-class nouns. The modifying suffixes may be used with any non-class noun. When they are used, the meaning will undergo a similar alteration to that which is found when modifying suffixes replace the regular suffix of class nouns (see 149-157). The commonly used word dáada 'mother' which is a non-class noun may receive the augmentative singular suffix:

dáada + {-ŋga} > dáadawa great mother

The same word with the diminutive suffix:

dáada + {-ŋgel} > dáadayel small mother
dáada + {-koy} > dáadahoy small mothers

Non-class nouns can be put into a specific class by use of the derivational suffixes.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| hínnuye | mercy | > | hínnuyèere | NDE |
| dála | five francs | > | dálawol | NGOL |
| táasa | bowl | > | táasawo | NGO |

When pluralized, non-class nouns receive derivational suffixes.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'áybe | offense |
| 'áybeeji | offenses |
| táasa | bowl |
| táasaaje | bowls |

Class nouns which are normally and basically singular may be pluralized by the use of derivational suffixes.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| háala | KA | palaver + {-ɗi} > |
| háalaaji | | palavers of various kinds |
| kósam | DAM | milk + {-ɗi} > |
| kósamji | | various milks |

Nouns which are already plural may occur with derived suffixes to render a new plural.

| | |
|---|---|
| yímɓe | people |
| yímɓeeji | various peoples |
| púcci | horses |
| púcciije | various kinds of horses |

101] In addition to being a part of the regular derivation suffix set, -'en forms an outer layer suffix that can occur with many nouns:

| | |
|---|---|
| pádali | antelope |
| pádali'en | (antelopes and) their kind |
| Dúrbey | name of a village |
| Dúrbey'en | people of Dourbeye |
| jíire | ground squirrel |
| jiire'en | those associated with the ground squirrel |
| dókta | doctor |
| dókta'en | those associated with the doctor (his staff) |

### 102] 3.16 The noun classes

The nominal class system consists of 19 singular classes and five plural classes (see chart 108). The system is largely based on a semantic taxonomy. Borrowed words, for example, will not be suffixed at random but will fall into the class compatible with the meaning of that word.

Semantically the classes are divided into four groups:

1 - The person classes, singular and plural.

2 - The diminutive-pejorative classes, which include a class for small masses,[1] a pejorative class, a diminutive class and a plural class.

---

[1] The KAL class includes nouns referring to small quantities not normally counted.

3 - The augmentative classes, singular and plural.

4 - The remaining classes, seven singulars with plural in DE, and seven singulars with plural in DI.

The classes with DE as plural are DAM (liquids) and DUM (neuter) which are, however, basically singular. Also in this group is the NDE class which includes round objects and metalanguage, the NGAL class which includes solid frames, the KA class which includes philosophical ideas or systems, the KI class which includes trees and the KO class which includes mouth, cotton, and useful grass.

The classes with DI as plural are NDI which includes words for mass nouns and some animals, the NDU class which includes containers, the NGE class which includes fire, sun and cattle, the NGO class which includes body parts and channels of social intercourse, the NGU class which includes elusive animals and things, the NGOL class which includes long slender objects, and the KOL class with a word for a female calf.

103] 3.161 The variant forms of the suffixes:

Although there are four series of class suffixes plus some variants within the series,[1] useful generalizations can be made about all forms except the person class forms. The full forms[2] are identical to the dependent pronouns; from these one can usually predict the denasalized forms. The initial consonants of the derivational forms undergo regular changes from those of the full form, and the short forms usually occur without initial consonant.

104] The full form of the suffix occurs with most nouns derived from verb stems (see 97). It is also found with some stems not traceable to verb stems:

| | |
|---|---|
| fómoonde | bank [of a river] |
| kósŋgal - kósɗe | foot - feet |

---

[1] The four series are listed on the chart in paragraph 108.

[2] Although these labels properly describe only the changes in the initial consonant, they are used as labels for the suffix forms as a whole.

105] The denasalized form:

The initial consonant of the suffix is denasalized following verb stems ending in manner suffixes, and following noun stems ending in u, r or a nasal.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| {'ún-} | | | | | grind |
| VR | | | | | |
| {'únor-} | + | {-ndu} | > | 'únordu | mortar |
| {wínd-} | | | | | write |
| VR | | | | | |
| {bíndir-} | + | {-ŋgol} | > | bíndirgol | pencil |
| VS | | | | | |
| {túmmu-} | + | {-ŋgel} | > | túmmugel | small dish |
| {hor-} | + | {-ŋgel} | > | kórgel | small slave girl |
| {láam-} | + | {-nde} | > | láamde | clean NDE |
| {ɗém-} | + | {-ŋgal} | > | ɗémgal | tongue |

106] The derivational form: Following (a) noun stems ending in any vowel but u, (b) all nouns that are derived from other nouns, and (c) those that follow the habitual morpheme {-oo-},[1] the initial consonant of the suffix is changed as follows:

nd > r
ŋg > w/y[2]
k > h
ɗ > j

---

[1] Only a few other nouns and some apparent verb stems occur with derivational suffixes, e.g. lélwa 'Thompson's gazelle'; gínnaaji 'demons'; láyhaaji 'amulets'. See also possessive pronouns (168-170) and independent pronouns (186-192). See also 100-101 for further examples of derivation.

[2] ŋg becomes y preceding e. However, {-ŋgum} often becomes -yum rather than -wum. The singular person class suffix following VS + {-oo-} is -wo.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| {ɓóosa-}<br>NS | + | {-ndu} | > | ɓóosaaru | dog |
| {ndótti-}<br>NS | + | {-ŋga} | > | ndóttiwa | grand old man |
| {ɓóosa-} | + | {-ŋgel} | > | ɓóosayel | little dog |
| {hottollo}<br>N | + | {-ko} | > | hóttolloho | big cottons |
| bórgo | | | | | blanket non-class noun |
| {bórgo} | + | {-ɗe} | > | bórgooje[1] | blankets |
| {mut-} | + | {-oo-} + NGE | > | mútooye | setting (sun) |
| {hon-} | + | {-oo-} +'O | > | kónoowo | warrior |

107] The short form: After noun stems of a type not mentioned in paragraphs 104-106, initial consonant of the class suffix is dropped. Note, however, that nd > r.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| {béemb-}<br>NS | + | {-ŋgel} | > | béembel | small granary |
| {gúd-}<br>NS | + | {-ŋgel} | > | gúdel | sarong |
| {gúd-}<br>NS | + | {-ɗe} | > | gúde | sarongs |
| {wúr-}<br>NS | + | {-ŋgo} | > | wúro | town |
| {yíit-}<br>NS | + | {-nde} | > | yíitere[2] | eye |
| {yíit-}<br>NS | + | {-ɗe} | > | gíite | eyes |
| {kús-}<br>NS | + | {-koy} | > | kúsoy | small game animals |

---

[1] For lengthening of vowels, see 82-83.

[2] For addition of the e, see 60.

### 108] FULANI NOMINAL CLASS SYSTEM (generalized)

| | | | Possessive Pronouns PPr | Independent Pron. IPr | Dependent Pronouns DPr | Class suffixes | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| PERSONAL CLASSES | Sg | 1 | -am | mín | mi-/yam[2] | | | -mi[3] |
| | | 2 | máaɗa/-ma[1] | 'aan | 'a-/-maa | | | -ɗaa[3] |
| | | 3 | máako | káŋko | 'o-/-mo | -o | -jo | -ɗo |
| | Pl | 1 | 'ámin/-mín | minin | -min- | | | |
| | | 1-2 | méeɗen/-mén | 'énen | -en- | | | -ɗen[3] |
| | | 2 | méeɗon/-món | 'ónon | -on- | | | -ɗon[3] |
| | | 3 | máɓɓe | kámɓe | -ɓe- | -ɓe | -ɓe/-'en | -ɓe |
| DIMINUTIVE CLASSES | Small mass | | máakal | káŋkal | -kal- | -al | -hal | -kal |
| | Sg. Pej. | | máagum | káŋgum | -ŋgum- | -um | -yum | -ŋgum |
| | Pl | | máakoy | káŋkoy | -koy- | -oy | -hoy | -koy |
| | Sg | | maagel | káŋgel | -ŋgel- | -el | -yel | -ŋgel |
| AUGMENTATIVE CLASSES | Sg | | máaga | káŋga | -ŋga- | -a | -wa | -ŋga |
| | Pl | | máako | káŋko | -ko- | -o | -ho | -ko |
| OTHER CLASSES | Sg | | maare | káyre | -nde- | -re | -re | -nde |
| | " | | máari | káyri | -ndi- | -ri | -ri | -ndi |
| | " | | máaru | káyru | -ndu- | -ru | -ru | -ndu |
| | " | | máage | káŋge | -ŋge- | -e | -ye | -ŋge |
| | " | | máago | káŋgo | -ŋgo- | -o | -wo | -ŋgo |
| | " | | máagu | káŋgu | -ŋgu- | -u | -wu | -ŋgu |
| | " | | máagal | káŋgal | -ŋgal- | -al | -wal | -ŋgal |
| | " | | máagol | káŋgol | -ŋgol- | -ol | -wol | -ŋgol |
| | " | | máaka | káŋka | -ka- | -a | -ha | -ka |
| | " | | máaki | káŋki | -ki- | -i | -hi | -ki |
| | " | | máako | káŋko | -ko- | -o | -ho | -ko |
| | " | | máakol | káŋkol | -kol- | -ol | -hol | -kol |
| | " | | máajam | kánjam | -ɗam- | -am | -jam | -ɗam |
| | " | | máajum/-man | kánjum | -ɗum- | -um | -jum | -ɗum |
| | " | | múuɗum/-mum | kanyum | 0/-ɗum | -um | -jum | -ɗum |
| | Pl | | máaje | kánje | -ɗe- | -e | -je | -ɗe |
| | Pl | | máaji | kánji | -ɗi- | -i | -ji | -ɗi |

---

[1] Some possessive pronouns have alternate forms.

[2] Some dependent pronouns have a subject form and an object form.

[3] Inverted order subject pronouns.

109] 3.162 The alternation of the initial consonants of stems occurring with class suffixes. For the related alternation in verb stems occurring with verb suffixes see 213-214. The vertical columns of the following chart indicate the variety of alternance which is found:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Fricative:[1] | v/w | $w^B/y^F$ | $y^B$[2] | r | f | s | h |
| 2. | Stop: | b | g | j | d | p | c | k |
| 3. | Pre-nasal: | mb | ŋg | nj | nd | p | c | k |

The 'fricative' consonants listed are the only ones participating in all the alternations. Consonants not listed are not altered.

w followed by front vowels e and i does not alternate with g/ng, while y followed by front vowels always alternates with g/ng. y followed by central and back vowels a, u, o always alternates with j/nj.

110] The 'fricative' initial consonant occurs when the stem is combined with a suffix in the following classes:

ƁE, NDE, NDU, NGE, NGO, KO(sg.)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| réwɓe | women | < | VS | réw- |
| yímre | song | < | VS | yím- |
| sáyeeru | golden (monkey) | < | Adj | sáy- |
| wóote | one NGE | < | Adj | wóot- |
| fáɗo | shoe | < | NS | fáɗ- |
| húnduko | mouth | < | NS | húndu- |

111] The initial consonant becomes a stop when the stem is combined with a suffix from one of the following classes: 'O, KAL, NGUM, NGEL, NGAL, NGOL, KI, ƊUM, ƊE, ƊI.

---

[1] The terms fricative, stop and pre-nasal are not here intended as phonetic descriptions, but rather as convenient generalized labels for the three series of consonants.

[2] B equals back vowels, F equals front vowels, so $w^B$ indicates w plus back vowels, etc.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bóoɗɗo | good man | < | VS | vóoɗ- |
| kóttollal | small mass of cotton | < | NS | hóttoll- |
| débbum | bad woman | < | VS | réw- |
| bánel | small bush cow | < | NS | *wán- |
| jáhaaŋgal | trip | < | VR | yáh- |
| gímol | song | < | VS | yím- |
| céekehi | a fig tree | < | NS | *séeke- |
| gúlɗum | hot thing | < | VS | wúl- |
| péwe | lies | < | VS | féw- |
| dawáaɗi | dogs | < | NS | rawá- |

112] The initial consonant of the stem becomes a stop and if the stop is voiced it is prenasalized when the stem is combined with a suffix from one of the following classes:

KOY, NGA, KC (pl.), NDI, NGU, KA, DAM

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ndawáakoy | small dogs | < | NS | rawá- |
| ŋgónga | another big NGA | < | VS | wóɗ- |
| mbé'o | large goats | < | NS | *wé'- |
| mbélndi | sharp [blade] | < | VS | vél- |
| ŋgílŋgu | worm | < | NS | *yíl- |
| mbóotka | good KA | < | VS | vóoɗ- |
| njáram | drink | < | VS | yár- |

For comparison the stem {wóot-} 'one' is presented with a suffix representative of the classes participating in the different alternations:

Initial consonant:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 'Fricative'; | ŋgílŋga ŋgóota | MS 58.1 | one worm |
| 2. | Stop: | gúdel góotel | MS 196.6 | one sarong |
| 3. | Pre-nasal: | wúro wóoto | ND 90.2 | one town |

113] However, there are exceptions to the alternation rule. Stems occur with the initial consonant in a stop form even when the suffix is one of the group selecting 'fricative' initial consonants.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1) | júŋgo | hand | not *yuŋgo |
| 2) | júŋgel | small hand | NGEL |
| 3) | njúŋga | large hand | NGA |
| 1) | dárnde | height | NDE |
| 2) | dárɗe | pl. | DE |
| 3) | ndárŋga | augmentative | NGA |
| 1) | défetéendu | kitchen | NDU |
| 2) | défanáɗɗo | one who will cook | 'O |
| 3) | ndéfurga | big pot for cooking | NGA |

Initial consonants of nouns which are derived from other nouns do not alternate.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) | yímɓeeji | various peoples | < | yímɓe |
| 2) | hóoloyel | small noise | < | hóolo |
| 3) | hóolowa | large noise | < | hóolo |
| 1) | súkaaɓe | youths | < | súka |
| 2) | súkayel | small youth | < | súka |
| 3) | súkahoy | small youths | < | súka |
| 1) | réejahoy | small razors | < | réeja |
| 2) | ndámbayel | small cold | < | ndámba |
| 3) | ndámba | cold | | |

114] 3.163 The basic noun classes

Nouns, other than adjectives, are basically found in one of the regular singular classes. Most of them can occur with modifying suffixes (149-157) in which case their meaning is altered. Adjectives and nominals derived from verb stems may occur with any noun class.

115] 3.1631 Person classes

(1) 'O class

Dependent pronouns: subject: 'o-; object: -mo; plural: BE

Independent pronoun: káŋko Possessive pronoun: máako

Suffix forms: short: -o; others: -ɗo

Initial consonant of the noun: Stop

(2) ƁE class.

Dependent pronoun: -ɓe- Singular: 'O

Independent pronoun: kámɓe Possessive pronoun: máɓɓe

Suffix forms: -ɓe in all cases, but -'en is also used in derivational forms.

Initial consonant of noun: No change.

The singular person class is the 'O class and the plural is the ƁE class. These classes contain words denoting human beings and also a very small number of borrowings.

Examples of person nouns (sg-pl) with the series of the full forms are:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| gárɗo - wárɓe | he who came | < | VS | wár- | (active). |
| tókkiiɗo - tókkiiɓe | he who followed | < | VS | tókk- | (emphatic). |
| máayɗo - máayɓe | dead person | < | VS | máay- | (active). |
| láamɗo - láamɓe | chief | < | VS | láam- | (active). |
| bóoɗɗo - wóoɗɓe | good person | < | VS | vóoɗ- | (active). |
| gíɗaaɗo - yíɗaaɓe | loved person | < | VS | yíɗ- | (passive). |
| káaɗo - háaɓe | slave | | | | |
| máccuɗo - máccuɓe | male slave | < | NS | mácc- | |
| góɗɗo - wóɗɓe | a person | < | Adj | wóɗ- | |
| kéɓɗo - héɓɓe | one who received | < | | héɓ- | (active). |

In some words -ko or -lo replaces -ɗo:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| górko - wórɓe | man | < | Adj | wór- |
| gáynaako - wáynaaɓe | shepherd | < | cf. | VR 'áyn- |
| púllo[1] - fúlɓe | Fulani person | < | Adj | fúl- |

In the morpheme {ɓiy-} there is an abnormal alteration of the final consonant before the suffix (see also the section on NGEL, 152-153):

---

[1] For the expected *pulɗo, púllo occurs. cf. kulɗo.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɓíɗɗo - ɓíɓɓe | child | < | N | ɓiy- |

Examples of nouns with the derivational forms of the suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| dérkeejo - dérke'en | youth | < | N | dérke |
| sóobaajo - sóoba'en | friend | < | N | sóoba |
| ndóttiijo - ndótti'en | great old person | < | Adj | ndótti- |
| Yáhuudúujo - Yahúudu'en[1] | Jew | < | Arabic | |
| mállumjo - mállum'en | teacher | < | N | mállum |

There is another set of forms which is included in the derivational series because for all other classes but the person classes the endings are of this set. Following the morphemes -oo- 'habitual' and -iraa- 'intimate' the derivational series are used, but in the person classes -wo and -ɓe occur:

| | |
|---|---|
| jáwmiraawo - jáwmiraaɓe | intimate master |
| 'ésiraawo - 'ésiraaɓe | intimate in-law |
| báabiraawo - báabiraaɓe | father |
| bálloowo - wállooɓe | helper |
| kísnoowo - hísnooɓe | one who is a savior |
| 'ékkitinoowo - 'ékkitinooɓe | teacher |

Examples of nouns with the series of person class short forms are:

| | |
|---|---|
| géeto - yéetɓe | live person |
| jámo - yámɓe | well person |
| pámaro - fámarɓe | small one |
| kóɗo - hóɗɓe | guest |
| báppanyo - wáppanyɓe | uncle |

A very small number of borrowed words are used in the person class by some people:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| bárka 'ɓo | M | this blessing |

A few nouns referring to human beings are in other regular classes.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| géndeeru wóoru | M | one strong servant |
| géndeeji | | strong servants |

---

[1] Yahuudaŋkéejo - Yahuudáŋko'en are also used.

116] 3.1632 The non-person classes: There are 14 non-personal regular classes. Seven of these occur in the plural in the DE class and the other seven in the DI class. It must be noted that not all nouns have regular plural forms, but that derived pluralization can often operate on those forms not having a regular plural (see 100-101). Although the person class carries the meaning 'human being', the semantic affiliation of words in the other classes is sometimes rather elusive.

117] (3)[1] NDE class.

Dependent pronoun: -nde- Plural: DE
Independent pronoun: káyre Possessive pronoun: máare
Suffix forms - short: -re; derivational: -re; full form: -(n)de
Initial consonant of noun: No change.

The nouns of this class are very diverse in content but several categories can be mentioned. Round objects usually capable of being handled: egg, rock, head, buttocks, mud ball, heart, ground-squirrel, ring, eye, calabash, neck, thing, onions, blanket, charcoal, mud, beans, nose, etc.

Metalanguage: book, names of language, name, song, letters of alphabet, etc.

Times and places: week, time, day, meeting place, city, home, school, mosque, etc.

Abstract: cunning, craftiness, lie, death, struggle, goodness, lightning, fainting, game, loan.

118] Examples of nouns with the series of the full NDE forms are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɓérnde - ɓérɗe | heart | cf. | VS | ɓern- |
| wárande[2] - gáraɗɗe | that which will come | < | VS | wár-<br>active future |
| 'índe[2] - 'ínɗe | name | < | VS | 'ínn- |

---

[1] The number refers to classes rather than sub-section.

[2] Nasal is deleted before prenasalized consonants {-wárannde} and {'innde}.

After verb stems ending in the {-ir-} 'manner' suffix, the nasal of the full form is deleted:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jáŋgirde - jáŋgirɗe | school | < | VR | jáŋg- |
| júulirde - júulirɗe | Mosque | < | VR | júul- |
| móoptorde - móoptorɗe | meeting place | < | VR | móoɓ- |

After adjective or noun stems[1] ending in *r*, *u*, or *m* the nasal of the full form is usually deleted:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| wórde - górɗe | male NDE | < | Adj | wór- |
| túmmude - túmmuɗe | calabash | < | NS | túmmu- |
| wámde - bámɗe | donkey | < | NS | wám- |

In some cases there is an alternant plural form:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| fíjirde - píjirle | game | < | VR | fíj- |
| wámarde - gámerle | dance | < | VR | wám- |
| hólbunde - kólɓule | ankle | | | |
| fómoonde - pómoole | river bank | | | |
| 'iyéende - 'iyéele | rain | | | |
| fáttude - páttule | quarter | | | |
| wáawarde - báwarle | shield | | | |

119] Examples of NDE nouns with the nominal derivational suffixes are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bórgoore - bórgooje | blanket | < | N | bórgo |
| hóoloore - hóolooji[2] | noise | < | N | hóolo |
| 'ásaveere - 'ásaveeje | week | < | N | 'ásave |
| saháare - caháaje | cunning | < | NS | sahá- |
| hálagaare - kálagaaje | ring | | | |
| ɓáleere - ɓáleeje | black | < | Adj | ɓál- |
| ráneere - dáneeje | white | < | Adj | rán- |

---

[1] After verb stems the full form is usually retained, cf. *támmunde* 'hope' and *dárnde* 'stance, height' but not after *m*, cf. *láamde* 'clean NDE' from the verb stem *láaɓ-* plus the class suffix NDE. For some roots there seems to be no way to predict. Compare *lésdi* 'earth' with *kósŋgal* 'foot'.

[2] An exception to the general rule.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| háwsaare | Hausa language | < | N | Háwsa |
| 'íŋlisre | English language | < | N | 'Íŋlis |
| wákkatiire - wákkatiije | time | < | N | wákkati |
| húuduure - kúuduuje | sore | | | |
| támseere - támseeje | bread | | | |
| hóoseere - kóoseeje | mountain | | | |

Verb stems with the habitual suffix -oo- are also found with these suffixes:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'úmmatoore - 'úmmatooje | crowd | < | VR | 'úmm- |
| yéttoore - géttooje | gratefulness | < | VR | yétt- |
| ɓáttarre - ɓáttajje[1] | scar | | | |

Ordinal numbers referring to time sequence occur with NDE suffixes (see paragraph 204) and are derived from regular numerals:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɗíɗawre | second | < | Num | ɗíɗ- |
| tátaɓre | third | < | Num | tát- |
| sáppoore | tenth | < | Num | sáppo |

120] Examples of nouns with the short form NDE suffixes are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| yímre - gíme | song | < | VS | yím |
| wuykere[2] - gúyke | drunkenness | < | VS | wúyk- |
| féwre - péwe | lie | < | VS | féw- |
| défre - défe | cooking, culinary art | < | VS | déf- |
| háɓre - káɓe | fight | < | VS | háɓ- |
| halkere[2] | destruction | < | VS | hálk- |
| wóore | one | < | Adj | wóot- |
| hínere - kíne | nose | < | NS | hín- |
| yáare[3] - jáhe | scorpion | < | NS | yáh- |

---

[1] It is probably best to consider the morphophonemics of this pair as irregular.

[2] The -e- between the stem and the suffix is a euphonious infix following double consonants, nd and n. (see 60)

[3] Before r, h and ' are replaced by length on the preceding vowel (see 65).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| májjere[1] - májje | loss | < | VS | májj- |
| yéɓre - géɓe | part | | | |
| déftere[1] - défte | book | | | |
| líkirre | hiccough | | | |
| 'élewre - 'élewe | craftiness | | | |
| réndere[1] - déne | egg | | | |
| séfre - céfe | bunch | | | |
| jíire[2] - jí'e | ground-squirrel | | | |
| dábare | stratagem | | | |
| hóore[2] - kó'e | head | | | |
| nárre - náne | left (hand) | < | VS | nán- |
| nyáamre - nyáame | right (hand) | < | VS | nyáam- |
| túure - túuɗe | spit | < | VS | túut- |
| 'áawre - 'áawe | sowing | < | VS | 'áaw- |
| háyre[3] - ká'e | stone | | | |
| táyre[3] - tá'e | cut piece | < | VS | tá'- |

Other nouns plus the short form class suffixes undergo irregular modifications.

| | |
|---|---|
| sáare - cí'e | house |
| nyíindere - nyíi'e | tooth |
| wólde - bólle | word |
| fáttude - páttule | quarter |
| jóonde - jóole | stay, sojourn |

121] (4) NDI class.

Dependent pronoun: -ndi- Plural: DI

Independent pronoun: káyri Possessive pronoun: máari

Suffix forms - short: -ri; derivational: -ri; full form: -(n)di

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

---

[1] See 60.

[2] See 65.

[3] Glottal stops are replaced by y is this position, see 65.

The NDI class includes nouns for some male domesticated animals or birds, e.g. rooster, he-goat, ram, bull as well as snakes and lizards. It also contains many mass nouns, such as words for sand, millet, iron, antimony, silver, gold, earth, flower, rice, flour, porridge, things stored, etc.

122] Examples of nouns with the series of the full NDI forms are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| pállaandi - pállaaɗe | lizard | |
| cúlaandi - cúlanɗe | cobra | |
| ɗíggundi | fine (flour) | < VS ɗígg-. |
| ɗákkundi | gums (mouth) | |
| mbóondi | good NDI | < VS vóoɗ- |
| njáareendi | sand | |

Following certain consonants the nasalization disappears:

| | |
|---|---|
| lésdi - lésɗe | earth |
| njámdi - jámɗe | iron |
| mbóodi - bóɗɗe | snake |

123] Examples of nouns with the nominal derivation NDI suffixes are:

| | |
|---|---|
| láyhaari - láyhaaji | amulet |
| njóoɓaari - njóoɓaaje | provision for a trip |
| 'ásugumri - 'ásugumje | rooster |
| mbáyeeri | a kind of millet |
| ɓáleeri | black NDI |
| kárniiri | special kind of porridge |
| njígaari | red millet |
| ŋgóroori - ŋgórooje | kind of snake |
| kúroori | flour |
| máaroori | rice |
| láawaloowáari | special kind of porridge |

124] Examples of nouns with the short NDI class forms are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ndémri | cultivation | < | VS | rém- |
| ndéwri | female NDI | < | VS | réw- |
| ŋgáari[1] - gá'i | bull | | | |
| gáwri | millet or guinea corn | | | |
| gáari | a kind of porridge | | | |
| njúmri - júme | honey | | | |
| nyíiri | staple food made from gáwri | | | |
| kalháldi[2] - kalháli | virile bull | | | |

125] (5) NDU class.

Dependent pronoun: -ndu- Plural: DI

Independent pronoun: káyru Possessive pronoun: máaru

Suffix forms - short: -ru; derivational: -ru; full form: -(n)du

Initial consonant of noun: No change.

Generally, the nouns of this class are containers. Thus it includes well, mortar, house, lake, moon, box, bottle but not such open things as plates or pots. Some musical instruments are found here, as well as body parts that can be considered containers such as body, female breast, stomach, ear, and also the digits and their nails but not legs and arms.

Moreover, hyena, dogs, cats, monkeys, rats and ant-eaters are included as are some words for birds, frog, etc.

126] Examples of nouns with the full NDU suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'íwndu | a NDU that originated | < | VS | 'íw- |
| wárandu - gáraɗɗi | the NDU to come | | | |
| défetéendu - défetéeɗi | the house to cook in | < | VS | déf- |
| rawáandu - dawáaɗi | dog | | | |
| wáandu - báaɗi | baboon, monkey | | | |
| 'éwnaandu | call | < | VS | 'éwn- |

---

[1] The a is lengthened as a result of the loss of the ' before r (see 65).

[2] After a stem in l the r of suffixes becomes d (see 69).

However, -li often occurs instead of -ɗi in the plural:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| fáandu - páali | bottle, narrow-mouthed pot | | | |
| hóondu - kóoli | body digits | | | |
| véendu - béeli | lake | | | |
| wóokaandu - góokaali | shout | < | VS | wóok- |
| sóndu - cólli[1] | bird | < | NS | són- |

Prenasalization of the full forms disappears after stems ending in certain consonants (see 105).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'únordu - 'únorɗi | mortar | < | VR | 'ún- |
| nyáamdu | food | < | VS | nyáam- |
| nástordu | initiation rites | < | VS | nást- |
| yáadu[2] | gait, walk | < | VS | yáh- |

127] Examples of nouns with the series of the nominal derivational suffixes are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| fáatiiru - páatiiji | cat | | | |
| jáwleeru - jáwleeji | entry house | | | |
| láymaaru - láymaaji | tent, umbrella | | | |
| géndeeru - géndeeji | virile slave | | | |
| ɓáleeru - ɓáleeji | black | < | Adj | ɓál- |
| gílaŋgeeru - gílaŋgeeji | crocodile | | | |
| nyólooru | spoiling NDU | < | VS | nyól- + -oo- |
| láyhaaru - láyhaaji | amulet | | | |
| dúniyaaru | world | | | |
| sáafaandu - cáafaali | bush dog | | | |

128] Examples of nouns with the short form NDU suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| héndu[3] - kéni | wind | < | VS | hén- |
| wáwru - gáwi | well | | | |
| dóomburu[4] - dóombi | rat | | | |

---

[1] The n of the root > l by assimilation (see 69).

[2] See 65.

[3] r > d after n (see 69).

[4] See 60.

| | |
|---|---|
| hábaru | news |
| wáancuru[1] - gáanci | stroll |
| ɓáaru[2] - ɓáhi | quiver |
| réwru - débbi[3] | female NDU |
| fówru - póbbi[3] | hyena |
| sáwru - cábbi[3] | cane, staff |
| nófru[4] - nóppi[3] | ear |
| hófru[4] - kóppi[3] | knee |
| réedu - déeɗi | stomach |
| súudu - cúuɗi | house |
| ɓándu - ɓálli | body |

129] (6) NGE class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋge- Plural: DI
Independent pronoun: káŋge Possessive pronoun: máage
Suffix forms - short: -e; derivational: -ye; full form: -(ŋ)ge
Initial consonant of noun: No change.

This class has only three main words:[5] sun, fire and cow. Subcategories of the same are also in the NGE class, as are adjectives. The morphology of *nágge* is irregular.

---

[1] See 60.

[2] h > length, see 65.

[3] See section on singular-plural dichotomy, 158-162.

[4] Also *nófuru*, *hófuru*.

[5] Seemingly *hínnuye*, *yáafuye*, etc. would belong to this class, but they are non-class nouns and must be derived to enter the class system, i.e. *hínnuyéere* < *hínnuye*.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| náaŋge | sun | | | | | |
| nágge - ná'i | cow | | | | | |
| yíite | fire | | | | | |
| wóote | one (cow) | < | Adj | wóot- | | |
| mútooye | setting (sun) | < | VS | mút- | + | -oo- |
| ráneye | white (cow) | < | Adj | rán- | | |
| híirnaaŋge | west | < | VS | híir- | + | náaŋge |
| ɗúunge | much (fire) | < | VS | ɗúuɗ- | | |

130] (7) NGO class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋgo- Plural: DE

Independent pronoun: káŋgo Possessive pronoun: máago

Suffix forms - short: -o; derivational: -wo; full form -(ŋ)go

Initial consonant of noun: No change.

The words in this class include body parts such as hand, tail, back, face, thigh; objects worn on body as bracelet and shoes; household items such as bed, hoe, and also river, market, village and some abstract nouns.

131] Examples of nouns with the full form of the NGO suffixes:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sáakiiŋgo | scattered NGO | < | VS | sáak- | | |
| wóongo | good NGO | < | VS | wóoɗ- | | |
| ví'etéeŋgo | called | < | VS | ví'- | + | -etee- |
| wáamgo[1] - báamle | pagan village | | | | | |

Examples of nouns with the nominal derivational NGO suffixes are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɓálewo - ɓáleeje | black NGO | < | Adj | ɓál- |
| táasawo - táasaaje | dish | < | N | táasa |
| sílawo - cílaaje | basket | | | |
| 'ésiraawo - 'ésiraaɓe | intimate in-law | | | |

---

[1] See 67.

Examples of nouns with the short NGO suffixes are:

| | |
|---|---|
| hóolo | noise |
| víco - bíce | tail |
| wúro - gúre | village |
| bóoro | bag |
| súuno | covetousness |
| fého - péhe | cover |
| fúɗo | growth |
| 'íiwo | adolescence |
| hákkiilo | circumspection |
| léeso - léese | bed |
| yéeso - géese | face |
| véelo | famine |
| wányo | a game, joke |
| lúumo - lúuɓe[1] | market |
| máayo - máaje[1] | river |
| númo | idea, thought |

132] (8) NGU class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋgu- Plural: DI

Independent pronoun: káŋgu Possessive pronoun: máagu

Suffix forms - short: -u; derivational: -wu; full form: -(ŋ)gu

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

In the NGU class there are a number of abstract nouns, most of which are pluralized by derivation, e.g. news, greatness, war, sickness, preaching, reign, etc. There are also a number of animals and insects such as sheep, horse, hippopotamus, worm, fly, mosquito, and also fish.

---

[1] cf. gájjo, gúuɓe, bójji (see 158-162).

Examples of nouns occurring with the long NGU suffix are:

| | |
|---|---|
| ŋgílŋgu - gílɗi | worm |
| líiŋgu[1] - líɗɗi | fish |
| mbággu[2] - báwɗi | drum |
| círgu - círɗi | leopard |

Examples of nouns occurring with the derivational NGU suffix are:

| | |
|---|---|
| páadawa - páadaaji | cheetah |
| mbóɗewu - bóɗeeji | red NGU |

Examples of nouns occurring with the short form of the NGU nominal suffix are:

| | |
|---|---|
| mbóju - bóji | rabbit |
| mbúubu - búubi | fly |
| cúufu - cúufi | mosquito |
| púccu - púcci | horse |
| mbéɗu - béɗi | mat cover, phonograph record |

133] (9) NGAL class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋgal- Plural: DE
Independent pronoun: káŋgal Possessive pronoun: máagal
Suffix forms - short: -al; derivational: -wal; full form: -(ŋ)gal
Initial consonant of noun: Stop.

This class includes nouns indicating solid elongated articles such as wood, bone, needle,[3] and birds of similar build to the crown bird, eagle, goose, vulture, chicken, partridge.

Also included in this class are abstractions, some of which indicate a real or supposed duration such as a journey, hunt, patience, covenant, marriage, knowledge, victory, speed, etc.

---

[1] ɗ + ŋg > preceding vowel length plus ŋg.

[2] w + ŋg > wg > gg.

[3] Needles were originally made by blacksmiths.

134] Examples of nouns occurring with the full form of the NGAL suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɗémgal[1] - ɗémɗe | tongue | | | |
| kósŋgal - kósɗe | foot | | | |
| 'úmmuŋgal - 'úmmuɗe | resurrection | < | VS | 'úmm- |
| píirugal - píiruɗe | flail | < | VS | fíir- |
| dámmugal - dámmuɗe | door | | | |
| jáalorgal | victory | | | |
| górgal - górɗe | male NGAL | < | Adj | wór- |
| kúugal - kúuɗe | work | < | VS | húuw- |
| cáygal - cáyɗe | goose | | | |

Examples of nouns occurring with derivational NGAL suffix forms are:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'álkawal | covenant |
| kóombowal - kóòmbooje | boat[2] |
| kumáarewal - kumaréeje | crown bird |
| jígawal - jígaaje | vulture |

Examples of nouns occurring with the short form of the NGAL suffixes are:

| | |
|---|---|
| báatal - báate | needle |
| gérlal - gérle | partridge |
| lúwal - lúwe | horn |
| dútal - dúte | eagle |
| láɓaŋgal - láɓaŋge | bit |
| béembal - béembe | grain bin |
| 'í'al - 'í'e | bone |

---

[1] Note prenasalization is deleted after m, see 67.

[2] Originally made of wood.

135] (10) NGOL class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋgol- Plural: DI

Independent pronoun: káŋgol Possessive pronoun: máagol

Suffix forms - short: -ol; derivational: -wol; full form -(ŋ)gol

Initial consonant of noun: Stop.

Long, slender objects such as rope, road, arrow, boundary, strand of hair, root, occur in this class. Stories or speech utterances are also included such as a question, paragraph, an uttered truth (not the abstraction), a letter, a tale, an argument and a dream. Also included are birth, maturity, commencement, rainy season.

136] Examples of nouns with the full form of the NGOL suffixes are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| báɗaaŋgol | that which has been made | < | VS | wáɗ-, |
| gímaaŋgol | that which has been sung | < | VS | yím- |
| támmiiŋgol | that which is thought | < | VS | támm- |
| bíndirgol- bíndirɗi | pencil | < | VR | vínd- |

The plural form can be -li:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jókkirgol - jókkirli | argument | < | VR | jókk- |

Examples of nouns occurring with the derivational NGOL suffix forms are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| patáakewol - pataakéeji | letter | | | |
| dákkawol - dákkaaji | fence | | | |
| gínnawol - gínnaaji | madness | < | VS | yínn- |
| díiŋgaalewol - díiŋgaaleeji | wall-wood fence[1] | < | N | díiŋgaale |

Examples of nouns occurring with the short NGOL suffix forms are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kéerol - kéeri | border | | | |
| láawol - láabi[2] | road | < | NR | láaw- |
| kóyɗol - kóyɗi | dream | < | VS | hóyɗ- |
| táalol - táali | tale | < | VS | táal- |
| ɓóggol - ɓóggi | rope | | | |

---

[1] See Taylor, 1932.

[2] See 158-162

137] (11) KA class.

Dependent pronoun: -ka- Plural: DE
Independent pronoun: káŋka Possessive pronoun: máaka
Suffix forms: short: -a; derivational: -ha; full form: -ka
Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

Many nouns in the KA class are basically singular so that plural forms of such nouns are made by means of derivational suffixes.

The nouns in the KA class are often abstractions such as loneliness, thirst, light, judgment, palaver and include borrowed words like paradise, religion and gospel. Moreover, the words for field, cabinet of the ruler, and the common cold are in this class.

138] Examples of nominals with the full form of the KA suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| dámmuka | short KA | < | V | rámm- |
| mbélka | sweet KA | < | V | vél- |
| mbí'etéeka | called KA | < | VS | ví'- |
| ŋgúyka - gúyke | theft | < | VS | wúy- |
| ŋgáska - gásɗe | hole | < | VS | wás- |

Examples of nouns with the derivational forms of the KA suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɓáleha | black KA | < | Adj | ɓál- |
| máapindiha | huge KA | < | Adj | máapindi- |
| háalaaji | palavers | < | N | háala |
| sírlaaji | trousers | < | N | sírla |

Examples of nouns with the short form of the KA nominal suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ŋgésa - gése | field | | | |
| késa - kése | new | < | NR | hés- |
| linjíila | gospel | < | Arabic | |
| háala[1] | palaver | | | |
| díina | religion | | | |
| sírla | trousers | | | |

---

[1] The plurals of this and the two following forms are made with the derivational suffixes, e.g. *háalaaji*, *díinaaji* and *sírlaaji*.

139] (12) KI class.

Dependent pronoun: -ki- Plural: DE

Independent pronoun: káŋki Possessive pronoun: máaki

Suffix forms - short: -i; derivational: -hi; full form: -ki

Initial consonant of noun: Stop.

The nouns of this class include trees of all kinds and bladed instruments, as well as the usual word for life.

140] Examples of nouns with the full forms of the KI suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| yóŋki | life | | | |
| jóorki - jóorɗe | dry KI | < | VS | yóor- |
| ɓókki - ɓówɗe | baobab tree | | | |
| dáŋki - dáŋɗe | shelter | | | |
| dúumiiki | everlasting KI | < | VS | rúum- |
| márki - márɗe | which owns KI | < | VS | már- |

Examples of nouns with the derivational forms of the KI suffix are:

| | |
|---|---|
| káafahi - káafaaje | sword |
| náarehi - náareeje | locust bean tree |
| ɓálehi - ɓáleeje | black KI |
| 'ándakehi - 'ándakeeje | acacia tree |
| ŋgálbihi - ŋgálbiije | tree (Vitex Cienkowskii) |

Examples of nouns with the short forms of the KI suffix are:

| | |
|---|---|
| láɓi - láɓe | knife |
| jáɓɓi - jáɓɓe | tamarind tree |
| 'íbbi - 'íbbe | fig tree |
| tánni - tánne | desert date |

141] (13) KO class.

Dependent pronoun: -ko- Plural: DE

Independent pronoun: káŋko Possessive pronoun: máako

Suffix forms - short: -o; derivational: -ho; full form: -ko

Initial consonant of noun: No change.

Nouns in this class include only a few common words such as leaves (legumes), grass, cotton and mouth.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| húnduko - kúnduɗe | mouth | | |
| hóttollo | cotton | | |
| húɗo | useful grass | | |
| háako | leaf, legume | | |
| ɓáleho - ɓáleeje | black KO | < | Adj ɓál- |

142] (14) KOL class.

Dependent pronoun: -kol- Plural: DI
Independent pronoun: káŋkol Possessive pronoun: máakol
Suffix forms - short: -ol; derivational: -hol; full form: -kol
Initial consonant of noun: Stop.

Only one word is basic to this class.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| nyálahol | female calf | plural nyálbi |
| ɓálehol | black KOL | |

143] (15) DAM class.

Dependent pronoun: -ɗam-
Independent pronoun: kánjam Possessive pronoun: máajam
Suffix forms - short: -am; derivational: -jam; full form: -ɗam
Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

Nouns in this class are basically singular. They can often be pluralized by derivation.

Nouns in this class are liquids, water, milk, oil and some abstracts.

144] Examples of nominals with the full form of the DAM suffix are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| péewɗam | cold DAM | < | VS féew- |
| ndúumiiɗam | everlasting DAM | < | VS rúum- |
| ŋgúlɗaɱ | hot DAM | < | VS wúl- |
| ɓíraaɗam | fresh milk | < | VS ɓír- |
| kísndam[1] | salvation | < | VS hísn- |

---

[1] The glottalization has disappeared after n. Cf. also ŋgeendam 'life' (see 92).

Examples of nouns with the derivational forms of the DAM suffixes are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɓáleejam | black DAM | < | Adj | ɓal- |
| dákamjam | sweet DAM | < | VS | dákm- |

Examples of nouns with the short forms of the DAM suffixes are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kósam | milk | | | |
| mbósam | marrow | | | |
| 'í'am | blood | | | |
| nébbam | oil | | | |
| ŋgóotam | one DAM | < | Adj | wóot- |

145] 3.1633 (16) The neuter classes

There are two neuter classes of which some forms are the same but the function is different (see 163-167). These are the neuter topic referent and neuter logical subject referent classes.

146] The neuter topic referent class

Dependent pronoun: -ɗum Plural: DE

Independent pronoun: kánjum Possessive pronoun: máajum

Suffix forms - derivational: -jum: full form: -ɗum

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

Though nouns in the neuter topic referent class are basically singular, when pluralized, they have their plurals in the DE class without derivation.

Unlike the regular noun classes or the modifying noun classes, the topic referent class does not have nouns basic to this class nor does it modify basic roots. As the name suggests, it modifies or refers to the topic of discussion and hence the nominals in this class are usually based on adjectival and verbal roots which modify or refer to a topic rather than a noun.

| | |
|---|---|
| ko-o-táwi háa-nder bíndaaɗum<br>M 10.3 | what he found in what-has-been-written |

bíndaaɗum refers to no specific book or writing.

There are nominals in this class derived from nouns by use of the derivational forms.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kúseljum | animal thing | < | N | kúsel |

Neuter topic referent class nominals are used adverbially in adverb positions (see 256).

| | |
|---|---|
| ŋgel-vóoji bóoɗɗum G 169.7 | It got good and red<br>(It reddened good) |

cf.

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . vóoji c$\overset{*}{o}$y MS 71.1 | reddened very-red |
| min-ŋgétti-maa ɗúuɗɗum M 5.6 | We thank you very much |

The neuter topic referent class nominal bóoɗɗum may be used as a response word:

| | |
|---|---|
| Páaɓa víi bóoɗɗum. MA 8.2 | The large toad said: "Good!" |

Examples of nouns with the full form of the DUM suffixes are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| séniiɗum | holy thing | < | VS | sén- |
| bóoɗɗum | good thing | < | VS | vóoɗ- |
| cáɗɗum | difficult thing | < | VS | sáɗ- |
| láaɓɗum | clear thing | < | VS | láaɓ- |
| bélɗum - bélɗe/bélɗi | sweet thing | < | VS | vél- |
| kálluɗum - kálluɗe | evil thing | < | VS | háll- |
| lúttuɗum - lúttuɗe | remaining thing | < | VS | lútt- |
| bíndirɗum - bíndirɗe | something to write with | < | VS | vínd- |

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the DUM suffixes are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| boɗéejum | red thing | < | Adj | bóɗ- |
| danéejum | white thing | < | Adj | rán- |

## 147] The neuter logical subject referent class

Dependent subject pronoun: Ø
Dependent object pronoun: -ɗum Possessive pronoun suffix: -um
Independent pronoun: kányum Possessive pronoun: múuɗum
Suffix forms - derivational: -jum; full form: -ɗum
Initial consonant of stem: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

There is no plural form. The nominal formation is the same as that of the neuter topic referent class, but the use of the pronouns of this class is far greater than that of its nouns. For a description of the function of this class see 163-167.

| | |
|---|---|
| débbo mo-kóoli múuɗum tá'aaɗum DG 54.2 | The woman whose digits were cut. |
| ɓe-mbári ɓíŋgel - kányum-boo 'en-mbára-ɗum MS 186.7 | Someone killed the child - him too we must kill him. |
| débbo . . . númi ɗúm górum. ND 2.1 | The woman thought it (was) her husband. |

148] (17) DE class.
Dependent pronoun: -ɗe- Singulars: NDE, NGO, NGAL, KA, KI, KO, (DUM)
Independent pronoun: kánje Possessive pronoun: máaje
Suffix forms - short: -e; derivational: -je; full form: -ɗe
Initial consonant of noun: Stop

(18) DI class.
Dependent pronoun: -ɗi- Singulars: NDI, NDU, NGE, NGU, NGOL, KOL
Independent pronoun: kánji Possessive pronoun: máaji
Suffix forms - short: -i; derivational: -ji; full form: -ɗi
Initial consonant of noun: Stop

The DE/DI classes are treated as plurals of specific singular classes (see singular-plural dichotomy 158-162).

### 149] 3.164 The modifying noun classes

The modifying noun classes differ from the regular noun classes in that they generally contain words from one of the regular noun classes with the substitution of a modifying noun class suffix. In such cases the meaning will be altered to give a diminutive, pejorative or augmentative meaning.

| | |
|---|---|
| láɓi | knife |
| láɓe | knives |
| láɓa | large knife |
| láɓel | small knife |
| láɓum | nasty little knife |
| láɓo | large knives |
| láɓoy | small knives |

### 150] (19) KAL class.

Dependent pronoun: -kal- (Plural: KOY)
Independent pronoun: káŋkal Possessive pronoun: máakal
Suffix forms - short: -al; derivational: -hal; full form: -kal
Initial consonant of noun: Stop

The suffixation of a stem with the KAL class suffix indicates a small mass. It is not normally pluralized.

An example of a noun with the full form of the KAL suffix is:

| | |
|---|---|
| jáarekal | small heap of sand |

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the KAL suffix are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| gáwrihal | small quantity of guinea corn | < N gáwri 'guinea corn |
| ɓálehal | black KAL | < Adj ɓál- |
| nyíirihal | small quantity of staple food | < N nyíiri |

An example of a noun with the short form of the KAL suffix is:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kóttollal | small mass of cotton | < NS hóttoll- |

151] (20) NGUM class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋgum- (Plural: KOY)
Independent pronoun: káŋgum Possessive pronoun: máagum
Suffix forms - short: -um; derivational: -yum; full form: -(ŋ)gum
Initial consonant of noun: Stop

The suffixation of a stem with the NGUM class suffix gives a pejorative meaning. It indicates smallness in a figurative way. The meaning is not ambiguous. It is not normally pluralized, but when pluralized its special pejorative meaning is neutralized.

An example of a noun with the full form of the NGUM suffix is:

| | |
|---|---|
| dúppuŋgum | runt (of a man) |

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the NGUM suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| nyíiriyum ɓáleyum | horrible black food | | | |
| púkarayum | nasty little student | < | NS | fúkara- |

Examples of nouns with the short form of the NGUM suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| pámarum | small NGUM | < | Adj | fámar- |
| bé'um | nasty little goat | < | NS | bé'- |

152] (21) NGEL class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋgel Plural: KOY
Independent pronoun: káŋgel Possessive pronoun: máagel
Suffix forms - short: -el; derivational: -yel; full form: -(ŋ)gel
Initial consonant of noun: Stop

The suffixation of a stem with the NGEL class suffix indicates a small object, or small in comparison to ordinary objects indicated by the stem. This suffixation may also be used in a figurative way and it may be ambiguous.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓérŋgel máako nyíddi MS 188.6 | His little heart is ugly |
| 'a-húuratаa bee-júŋgel máaɗa M 171.7 | You'll not work with your little hand |

153] Examples of nouns with the full form of the NGEL suffix are:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dawáaŋgel - ndawáakoy | small dog | | | | |
| normally | | | | | |
| rawáandu | dog | < | NS | rawá- | |
| júŋgel | small hand | | | | |
| normally | | | | | |
| júŋgo | hand | < | NS | júŋ- | |

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the NGEL suffix are:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lúumoyel - lúumohoy | small, insignificant market | | | | |
| | | < | N | lúumo | market |
| móotayel - móotahoy | small car | < | N | móota | car, truck |
| ɓáleyel - ɓálehoy | black NGEL | < | Adj | ɓál- | |

Examples of nouns with the short form of the NGEL suffix are:

| | |
|---|---|
| báalel - mbáaloy | small sheep |
| normally | |
| mbáalu | sheep |
| béembel - mbéemboy | small granary |
| normally | |
| béembal | granary |
| láɓel - láɓoy | small knife |
| normally | |
| láɓi | knife |

Some nouns are normally found in this class; the contrast is then lost and meaning small is only implied.

| | |
|---|---|
| kúsel - kúsoy | meat |
| péllel - pélloy | place |
| múkel - múkoy | sandfly |

154] (22) KOY class.

Dependent pronoun: -koy- Singular: NGEL (KAL, NGUM)
Independent pronoun: káŋkoy Possessive pronoun: máakoy
Suffix forms - short: -oy; derivational: -hoy; full form: -koy
Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of the voiced stops.

The KOY class is the plural class for the NGEL class. Although nouns in the KAL and NGUM classes are not normally pluralized, when this takes place they occur in the KOY class. See examples in the singular classes.

155] (23) NGA class.

Dependent pronoun: -ŋga- Plural: KO (DI)
Independent pronoun: káŋga Possessive pronoun: máaga
Suffix forms - short: -a; derivational: -wa; full form: -(ŋ)ga
Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

The suffixation of the NGA class suffix to a stem gives an augmentative meaning with literal or figurative implications.

156] Examples of nouns with the full form of the NGA class suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kúlŋga | fearful NGA | < | VS | húl- |
| ŋgílŋga - ŋgílko | large worm | | | |
| normally | | | | |
| ŋgílŋgu | worm | < | NS | yíl- |
| njúŋga - njúŋko | large hand | | | |
| normally | | | | |
| júŋgo | hand | < | NS | júŋ- |

Examples of nouns with the derivational form of the NGA suffix are:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dáadawa - dáadaho | great mother | < | N | dáada | mother |
| hóolowa - hóoloho | big noise | < | N | hóolo | noise |
| máapindiwa - máapindiho | big NGA | < | Adj | máapindi- | |

Examples of nouns with the short form of the NGA suffix are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| pówa - pówo | huge hyena | < | NS | fów- |
| cáwa - cáwo | huge cane | < | NS | sáw- |
| ŋgóota | one NGA | < | Adj | wóot- |
| kúra - kúro | huge arrcw | < | NS | *húr- |

Some nouns are normally found in this class, in which case there is no augmentative contrast, and the meaning is only implied. These nouns are usually pluralized in the regular DI plural class. Sometimes, however, they are also pluralized in the augmentative KO class, which makes the augmentative meaning explicit.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| lélwa - lélji | Thompson's gazelle | | | |
| mbéewa - bé'i | goat | cf. | mbé'o | large goats |
| nyíiwa - nyíibi | elephant | | | |

157] (24) KO class.

Dependent pronoun: -ko- Singular: NGA

Independent pronoun: káŋko Possessive pronoun: máako

Suffix forms - short: -o; derivational: -ho; full form: -ko

Initial consonant of noun: Stop and prenasalization of voiced stops.

The KO class is the plural for the NGA class and gives the same explicit augmentative meaning to the noun. For examples see the NGA class.

### 158] 3.17 Singular-Plural Dichotomy

There are three types of nouns (see 93 ff.), compound nouns, non-class nouns, and class nouns. Non-class nouns comprise words without a class ending and referring to specific ideas, things or people considered as a unit not ordinarily counted. Should they need to be modified by number or size (literally or figuratively), derivational suffixes are used. The derivational suffixes are also used with the compound nouns. Clitics are shortened noun forms used only in compounds with other nouns. These are singular.

159] The class nouns are the most important group. There are 19 singular and 5 plural classes. These can be combined into two major groupings: the regular noun classes and the modifying noun classes. The regular classes comprise person and non-person classes, while the modifying classes comprise diminutive and augmentative groups. Each of these sub-groups has its singular-plural classes.

| The basic classes: | singular | plural |
|---|---|---|
| Person | 'O | BE |
| Non-person | NDE, NGO, NGAL | DE |
| | KA, KI, KO | |
| | (DAM, DUM) | |
| | NDI, NDU, NGE, NGU | DI |
| | NGOL, KOL | |
| The modifying classes: | | |
| Diminutive | KAL, NGUM, NGEL | KOY |
| Augmentative | NGA | KO |

All kinds of nouns except the clitics can occur with the derivational suffixes (see 100-101). These usually have their plural in the DI class regardless of the class chosen as singular.

For any given noun, the plural suffix is of the same series as that of the normal singular form (see 102), but the initial consonant changes according to the class of the noun (see 109-113). These changes are regular for most nouns. All noun stems ending in double consonants follow the regular morphophonemic rules.[1]

---

[1] Unless the root of *nágge-ná'i* be (nágg-).

160] Some plural suffixes are -*le*/-*li* instead of -*ɗe*/-*ɗi*. Nearly all the plural formations of this sort are found in the NDE, NDU and NGAL classes (see 117-120, 125-128, 133-134). The plural form *jáwle*, of which the singular is *jáwdi* (NDI class), is an analogous formation from *jáawŋgal* - *jáawle* 'guinea fowl.' It has been noted[1] that the plural of *ndíyam* 'water' and *kósam* 'milk' are *dí'eele* and *kóseele* respectively. However, these nouns are not normally pluralized and when they are, the forms *ndíyamji* and *kósamji* are more usual.

161] Some of the changes that take place in roots or suffixes in the singular-plural formations, which at first sight appear to be irregular, are in fact governed by general morphophonemic rules (see 65). The rule that a glottal stop or fricative is deleted before another consonant and the preceding vowel lengthened may be seen in:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jíire - jí'e | ground-squirrel | < | NS | jí'- |
| yáare - jáhe | scorpion | < | NS | yáh- |
| hóore - kó'e | head | < | NS | hó'- |

The rule that *a'* > *ay* before the initial consonant of a suffix is exemplified in:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| háyre - ká'e | stone | < | NS | há'- |

These are treated as regular formations.

162] However, there are other words with singular-plural formations that do not follow the general rules of the language and these are called irregular nouns, although special rules govern the alterations in many of these nouns.

A few of the irregular plural formations can be grouped. The final consonants of the stems *réw*-, *léw*-, *láw*-, *fów*-, *nóf*-, *hóf*-, *wúy*-, *wóy*- are doubled and moved toward stop positions in the classes having initial implosive alveolar stops (or a glottal stop) in the full form of the suffix, e.g.:

---

[1] Cf. Klingenheben 1963, p. 105.

| Class | female | hyena | thief | 'cane' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NDU | réwru | fówru | -- | sáwru |
| NGA | ndéwa | pówa | -- | cáwa |
| KO (pl.) | ndéwo | pówo | -- | -- |
| 'O | débbo | -- | gújjo | -- |
| ƁE | réwɓe | -- | wúyɓe | -- |
| DI | débbi | póbbi | -- | cábbi |
| NGEL | déyel[1] | pówel | -- | cáwel |

Stem final y/w/m become j/b/ɓ in one syllable noun stems[2] with a long syllable plus a short plural suffix, e.g.:

| | |
|---|---|
| máayo - máaje | river |
| láawol - láabi | road |
| nyíiwa - nyíibi | elephant |
| lúumo - lúuɓe | market |
| wúumre - gúuɓe | bush |

163] 3.2 Class pronouns

Most pronouns reflect the specific class of the noun to which they refer. Neuter pronouns, however, are not tied to any particular class. There are two series of neuter pronouns, each series being used in conjunction with different portions of discourse, although some of the forms are the same in both series. The pronouns of these two series are listed in the following chart, together with the corresponding person class pronouns (see also 108).

| | Neuter Pronouns | | Class 'O Pronouns |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Topic referent | Logical subject referent | |
| Dependent pronoun (subject) | ɗum- | ø | 'o- |
| Dependent pronoun (object) | -ɗum | -ɗum | -mo |
| Independent pronoun | kánjum | kányum | káŋko |
| Possessive pronoun | máajum/-man | múuɗum/-mum | máako |

---

[1] déyel occurs where *déwel would be expected.

[2] Note that the rule does not apply to nominals derived from verb stems, e.g. báawal-báawɗe 'power' < VR wáaw-.

164] The principal distinction between the two series is that the topic referent pronouns refer to a topic of conversation whereas the logical subject pronouns refer to the preceding noun or noun phrase which is the logical subject. The class pronouns refer to a specific noun of the same class. Topic referent pronouns do not usually refer to named nouns but rather to a general topic. It may be that the topic is not amenable to formal classification or that it is in the process of definition. When one object is being compared to another or described as being in process of change, it may be referred to by means of a topic referent pronoun. The following examples illustrate the use of the topic referent pronouns.

| | |
|---|---|
| kánjum ɗón háa-nder ɓérnde-am háa jónta. M 173.5 | That is in my heart until now. (Kanjum = what he just told about.) |
| ŋgam-kánjum 'Álmasiihu hókki yóŋki maáko. M 12.25 | For that reason (what has been described) Christ gave his life. |
| waándu waádar-ɗum. MF 90.6 | A monkey will do that (tomfoolery just described). |
| kánjum mi-séndiri-ɗum MS 110.5 | That (is why) I separated it. |

(kánjum = the story just told; -ɗum = the major theme of the story)

| | |
|---|---|
| ɗúm ɗúme? DG 54.1 | What is this? |
| mbóoɗi-? kánjum wòn ɗémgal. M 185.1 | Snake - that is the tongue. |
| yóo, 'o-wári 'o-táwi fakát, ɗum-ɓiŋgel mbako...MA 140.5 | Well, he came and found for a fact, it was his child. |
| nonnón górko-go wári yúurni mi-táwi ɗum-géndeeru. MS 96.2 | So that man came and peeked (and) saw it was a virile slave. |
| yóo to-ɗum-pelpéle MS 105.8 | Well if it is pelpele (fish) |
| ŋgam-dúumol-boo, ɗum-jémma. MA 1.4 | Because the rainy season it is also night. |

| | |
|---|---|
| ŋgéewta dútal bee-dóomru. ɗum-wáɗi ŋgáaba. Ma 5.1 | Discourse of an eagle with a rat. They had a quarrel. |
| ko-góɗɗo 'áawi, kánjum sódata. M 16.18 | What a man sows, that he will reap. |
| 'anáar-boo kánjum bána víigo yíite. M 17.18 | Anaar, that is as to say fire. |
| káŋko mári yáapendo máako sám jémmaare máajum. MS 96.1 | He was the one who had his 'aunt' that night (the night we are talking about). |
| mi-'ándaa kárfuuje máajum. M 172.6 | I did not know that writing. |

165] Logical subject referent pronouns refer to the preceding logical subject (noun) which is named. The preceding logical subject often follows other subjects and the use of this referent pronoun indicates that among all the possible subject referents, the one which immediately preceded is the one intended. These pronouns often refer to generalized subjects when first introduced. The opening sentences of the following story (MS 54.10-55.1) illustrate the use of the logical subject referent pronouns:

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-ɗoyéčca-'on kúbaru. | I am telling you a story. |
| no-góɗɗo wáadi bee-mbárooga. | How a person strove with a lion. |
| débbo réedi réedu mùuɗum | A woman got pregnant, |
| yóttidini. | her time arrived. |
| ɗoyáha haa-máɓɓe. | [She] was going to hers (home). |
| réedu mὰako-boo | Her pregnancy then, |
| 'o-ɓésni haa-láawol. | she bore a child on the way. |
| mbárooga-boo dányi-noo ɓíŋgel | A lion too bore its child, |
| mùuɗum. wàr-táwi | came found |
| débbo-go ɗojóoɗi bee-ɓíŋgel | that woman sitting with her child. |
| mùuɗum. | |
| 'o[1]-mbári débbo. | It killed the woman. |
| 'o-hóo'i | It took |
| 'o-dási | it dragged |
| 'o-yáarani | it took [it] to |
| ɓíŋgel mὰako. | its child. |
| ɓíŋgel mὰako wári', dási ɓíŋgel | Its child came, dragged the child |
| gòɗɗo-go | of that person. |
| kányum-boo yéhi nyúkkini, | It too went and hid |
| hὰa-péllel mùuɗum. | [it] in its place. |
| dáada mὰako[2] wádda kúuje'. | Its mother would bring things. |
| to-wáddi kúuje [ban, kuuje ban,] | When it brought things like |
| bánanta, pádali-? kámpure-? | red antelope, duikers; |
| 'o-hóo'a | it would take |
| 'o-tá'a kúsel-man | it would cut the meat |
| 'o-yáarana | it would take [it] to |
| ŋgórgi mὰako-go. | that age-mate. |
| ɓíŋgel-go yákka. MS 54.10-55.1 | That child would chew [it]. |

---

[1] The lion is personified and hence in referring to him the person class is used.

[2] See footnote 1.

166] Some more examples may help to illustrate the use of the logical subject referent pronouns:

| | |
|---|---|
| nonnón línjiila, féwre wúrtataako haa-húnduko múuɗum. M 180.1 | So the gospel, lie does not come out of its mouth. |
| ɓe[1]-mbári ɓiŋgel - kányum-boo 'en-mbára-ɗum. | Someone killed the child - him too we must kill him. |
| lélwa dílli kányum húunde múuɗum. MS 84.1 | The Thompson's gazelle went its way. |
| háa 'o-híito kóomoye nder-hákkeeji múuɗum. M 13.10 | That he judge everyone in his sins. |
| wáyne mbári débbo-mum. MS 18.19 | So-and-so killed his wife. |

It is well to note that in the last example, had máako been used one would not know whether 'so-and-so' killed his own wife or someone else's. Had máajum been used it would have referred to the wife who had been talked about without reference to possession by an individual. Compare:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-násti súudu máajum ND 89.4 | He entered that house [that was talked about] |
| 'o-táwi...górko-go hóo'i débbo máako MS 96.4 | He found that man took his wife. |

If one should substitute múuɗum for máako in the above sentence 'that man' would be the referent.

| | |
|---|---|
| góɗɗo-go 'ítti páɗe múuɗum. MS 36.8 | That man removed his shoes. |

---

[1] Indefinite 'they'.

| | |
|---|---|
| sóobaajo máako wára haa máako... | His friend would come to him |
| . . .táwataa-mo . . . | would not find him |
| bee-sóobaajo máako 'úmmi haa | with his friend [who] started |
| sáare múuɗum M 184.6 | from his [friend's] house |

167] Class pronouns refer to a specific noun of the same class.

| | |
|---|---|
| nde-nyáw náŋgi góoto, 'o-yíɗi | When illness caught one he was |
| máayugo, 'o-'éwni sóobaajo | about to die, he called his |
| máako. AB 10.2 | friend. |

(where all pronouns refer to góoto)

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-wálaa tókkora káŋko-boo. | He had no namesake he too. |
| M 183.1 | |
| níi ŋgol-tímmiri. MS 93.6 | So it (story) finished. |
| cáafaali ŋgári...ɗi-nyáamdi-mo. | The bush dogs came...they ate |
| MS 99.3 | him up. |

168] 3.21 Possessive pronouns

For a list of the possessive pronouns see the chart in paragraph 108. As may be seen from the chart the possessive pronouns are composed of the possessive pronoun morpheme (maa-) plus the full form of the class suffix less nasalization. The class suffixes beginning with alveolars occur only in the first and second person forms of the person classes, while in the third person singular the suffix form -ko occurs. For the other forms of the suffixes beginning with alveolars, the derivational suffixes are substituted. The third person plural is irregular.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (maa-) | + | (-ɗo) | > | máako | third person singular |
| (maa-) | + | (-ɓe) | > | máɓɓe | third person plural |
| (maa-) | + | (-nde) | > | máare | NDE |
| (maa-) | + | (-ŋgo) | > | máago | ŊGO |
| (maa-) | + | (-ki) | > | máaki | KI |
| (maa-) | + | (-ɗe) | > | máaje | ƊE |

169] The first and second person forms are not always predictable:

| | Person | |
|---|---|---|
| Number: | Singular | Plural |
| 1 | -am | 'ámin/ -min |
| 1-2 | -- | méeɗen[1]/-men |
| 2 | máaɗa/-ma | móoɗon[1]/-mon |

The first person pronouns are used when the speaker (or speakers) is excluding the party present (usually the person(s) addressed).

kûuje 'ámin njóɓoltaama M 175.8 our things were lost

(The speaker and his wife had lost their things, she was not now present.)

mi-hóotan haa-'ámin AB 5.17 I am going home to us

(No other member of the family was present.)

mi-nyálli nyállirki 'ámin MS 203.6 We spent the day talking

(The speaker and a certain person had done this; he was reporting the fact to another listener.)

na-báaba 'ámin-go fíntaay? Our father did not awaken, did he?

(Brothers speaking to one another in the presence of a third party who quotes it.)

The inclusive person plural pronoun is used when the speaker includes everyone present.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'en-pát méeɗen | every last one of us |
| céede méeɗen-ɗe | This is our money<br>(wife speaking to husband) |

---

[1] For the alteration of the vowels see 72.

170] The following examples indicate the use of the other forms:

| | | CLASS |
|---|---|---|
| dáada máako | his mother | 'O(1) |
| wúro máɓɓe | their village | BE(2) |
| sáare máakoy | their (children's) home | KOY(22) |
| více máare | its (ground squirrel's) tail | NDE(3) |
| débbo máajum | its woman or that woman<br>(neutral in that it refers to an idea not explicitly stated) | DUM(16) |
| 'índe máaji | their (animal's) name | DI(18) |
| kúsel máago | its (goat's) meat | NGA(23) |

171] 3.22 Dependent class pronouns

For a list of the dependent class pronouns see the chart in paragraph 108. The dependent pronouns in all but the person classes are the same as the full form of the nominal suffix. These are clitics and as such are not accented. The same forms are used whether the dependent pronoun acts as a subject or complement of a verb phrase, except in the case of the singular forms of the person class. The following is a list of the dependent pronouns for the person class:

| | | Subject | | Object |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Normal order | Inverted order | |
| Singular | 1 | mi- | -mi | (-yam) |
| | 2 | 'a- | (-ɗaa) | (-maa) |
| | 3 | 'o- | | -mo |
| Plural | 1 | min- | | -min |
| | 1-2 | 'en- | (-ɗen) | -'en |
| | 2 | 'on- | (-ɗon) | -'on |
| | 3 | ɓe- | | -ɓe |

The dependent pronouns are used as subject or complement of verb phrases, or as topic or description of topic-description clauses.

172] The following examples are given to demonstrate the use of these person pronouns when subject of a verb phrase:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mi-wólwa? | AB 121.8 | Should I talk? |
| 'a-wári | MS 74.1 | You came. |
| 'o-fíyi lésdi | M 171.7 | He hit the ground. |
| min-ɗoŋgára | MS 201.3 | We (excl) are coming. |
| 'en-kákkilanaay-ɗi | M 185.4 | We did not take care of them. |
| 'on-kálki | MS 96.2 | You are lost. |
| ɓe-mbíi-mo: | M 184.1 | They told him. |

173] The following examples illustrate the use of the inverted order subject pronouns:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ko-'éwnir-ɗaa-mi-na? | MS 94.2 | What did you call me for? |
| wólde nán-ɗen hánde | M 23.6 | that word we heard today |
| jám mbáal-ɗon | M d | Did you sleep well? |

174] The following examples illustrate the use of dependent person pronouns as complements:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'o-háwti-yam bee-góɗɗo | M 174.5 | He introduced me to a person. |
| mi-yíɗi-maa | MS 140.8 | I want you. |
| 'o-náŋgi-mo | MS 203.2 | He grabbed him. |
| káwt-aa-min | MS 186.4 | Introduce us (to one another). |
| 'o-hókki-'en ɓiɓɓe | M | He gave us children. |
| háa mi-yímana-'on | MS 67.5 | Let me sing for you. |

175] However, some of the object pronoun morphemes have variant forms:

3.221 The consonant of the inverted order subject pronouns is deleted when the verb is in the subjunctive or future active;

e.g. (-ɗaa) > -aa when the verb is in the subjunctive or future active.

| Normal order | Inverted order | Gloss | Tense-aspect-voice |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'en-kéɓi | kéɓ-ɗen | we received | past active |
| 'en-kéɓa | kéɓ-en | that we receive | subjunctive active |
| 'en-'ándi | 'ándu-ɗen | we knew | past |
| 'en-'ánda | 'ánd-en | that we know | subjunctive active |
| 'en-'ándan | 'ándet-en | we will know | future active |
| | | | |
| 'a-hóosi | kóosu-ɗaa | you took | past active |
| 'a-hóosan | kóosat-aa | you will take | future active |
| 'a-hóosa | kóos-aa | that you take | subjunctive active |
| | | | |
| 'on-mbí'i | mbíi-ɗon | you(pl) said | past active |
| 'on-mbí'an | mbí'ot-on | you(pl) will say | future active |
| 'on-mbí'a | mbí'on | that you say | subjunctive active |

176] 3.222 The first person singular object pronoun has several variant forms.

(-yam) occurs following the tense-aspect-voice markers, -i, -o, -e:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ko-wáɗɗi-yam 'e-máaɗa... | MS 68.2 | What brought me to you... |
| ...'a-hókki-yam | G 163.8 | You gave me |
| tágɗo-yam | MS 67.6 | the-one-who-created me |
| 'a-sáppake-yam | Ma 3.4 | You pointed (at) me. |

NOTE: y is sometimes reduced.

177] (-yam) becomes -am following singular imperatives and the future active:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| hókk-am rawáandu-ma | Ma 6.8 | Give me your dog. |
| 'úseni wúrtin-am | MS 57.2 | Please let me out. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'asée 'a-ɓírat-am féwre | AB 10.14 | Indeed you surpass me in lying. |
| ɓe-mbíi ɓe-mbarát-am | M 21.1 | They said they would kill me. |
| róond-am | MS 62.8 | Carry me. |
| hókkor-am sédda | MS 57.4 | Please give me a little. |

178] (-yam) becomes -mi after subjunctive and the 2nd person inverted order pronoun (-ɗaa):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kóo'-aa láɓi njów-aa-mi | MS 56.9 | Take a knife and stab me. |
| ŋgár-aa ŋgécc-aa-mi | MS 56.2 | Come tell me. |
| njáar-aa-mi lawláw | AB 6.13 | Take me very fast. |

Compare

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mi-yídi káwt-aa-min. | MS 186.4 | I want you to get us together. |

179] (-yam) becomes -mi after the short passive:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| har Márwa dányaa-mi | Ma 1.11-14 | It was at Maroua I was born. |

180] (-yam) becomes -mmi after -a:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'o-hókkora-mmi sédda | MS 57.6 | He should give me a little. |

Compare MS 57.4 in 177 above.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mín-do ɓe-ndíllira-mmi háa ɓe-mbára | MS 2.15 | As for me they will take me to be killed. |
| to-a-nyíɓi 'a-tímmini, 'a-yécca-mmi. | MS 56.2 | When you finish building, tell me. |
| háa báaba-am yí'a-mmi... | MS 2.12 | So my father can see me... |

181] (-yam) becomes -ɗam after 2nd person plural imperative and inverted order pronouns.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mbáree-ɗam | MS 2.12 | Kill me. |
| múnyanee-ɗam | MS 77.8 | Be patient with me. |
| táa nyáawanee-ɗam | MS 77.8 | Don't hurry me. |
| mbár-on-ɗam | MS 77.6 | You should kill me. |
| ndíkka kóor-on-ɗam | MS 65.5 | Better you take me. |
| ndókkor-on-ɗam bíriiji | MS 98.6 | Give me peanuts. |

182] (-yam) becomes -kam after the negative tenses:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'o-yíɗáa-kam | MS 110.5 | He doesn't like me. |
| ɓe-táwatáa-kam[1] | MA 144.6 | They would not find me. |

183] 3.223 The second person singular object pronoun has two forms.

(-maa) occurs in most instances (see 74 and 78):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ko-wáddi-maa? | MS 75.5 | What brought you? |
| táa ɓe-náŋga-maa. | MS 109.4 | Don't let them catch you. |
| min-ŋgéeni-maa | MS 97.1 | We'll pay you. |

184] When the active subjunctive, or future active[2] and (-maa) occur together they become e. ( -a + -maá > -e)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| málla-boo mín-ɗo mi-mbár-e mi ɗilla. | MS 56.9 | Or else, I, I will kill you and go away. |
| 'Álla wónan-e | MS 102.2 | God be with you. |
| 'áccu mi-défan-e. | MS 97.2 | Let me cook for you. |
| 'Álla ɗáan-e. | MS 109.4 | May God help you get away. |
| ɓe-mbár-e | MS 77.3 | They'll kill you. |
| mi-mbáret-e hánde | MS 62.8 | I'll kill you today. |
| To-mi-lórtake mi-yóɓet-e | M 21.1 | When I return I will pay you. |
| mi-hókket-e ɓíŋgel-am | MS 58.4 | I will give you my child. |
| mi-fíɗant-e | AB 2.3 | I will sting for you. |

185] The use of dependent pronouns other than person pronouns is similar to the use of person pronouns except that there are no variant forms.

As subject pronouns:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| haa-nde-wóni pát. | MS 76.8 | Wherever it (ring) is. |
| nge-wártan 'í'am | M 180.3 | It (sun) will become blood. |

---

[1] But MA gives us one counter-example...sùunatáa'am which may be an uncorrected error.

[2] I have a few examples of future plus -maa. Cf. Na-'-húlan ko-nyáaman-maa Ma 118.5 'Wouldn't you fear what would eat you?' Although this is found in Adamawa my core informants do not use it.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tóy ŋgol-yéni? | MS 195.2 | Where did it (arrow) fall? |
| ka-dárake | MS 106.3 | It (field) is established. |
| ɗum-wári | MS 73.3 | It came (neuter topic referent). |
| ɗe-kálli | M 17.21 | They (words) are evil. |

As object pronoun:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| no-njógrat-aa-ndu | MS 98.4 | How do you keep it (dog)? |
| 'o-sóppi-nga påa! | MS 71.4 | He slashed it (dragon) paa! |
| 'a-jókka-ŋgal bána náane | M 181.1 | You make it (wood) fit like before. |
| 'a-wó"itina-ka | MS 106.6 | You make it (field) good. |
| 'en-mbára-ɗum | MS 186.8 | We should kill it (neuter logical subject referent). |
| ɓe-káɓɓani-mo-ɗi. | MS 98.2 | They tied them (dogs) up for her. |

186] 3.23 Independent pronouns

For a list of the independent pronouns see the chart in 108. The independent pronouns consist of the independent pronoun morpheme {kan-} and the class suffix morpheme. The set of suffix morphemes used with the independent pronoun morpheme is nearly the same as that used with the possessive pronoun morpheme (168-170).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| {kan-} | + | {-ɗo} | > | káŋko | Third person singular |
| {kan-} | + | {-ɓe} | > | kámɓe | Third person plural |
| {kan-} | + | {-ka} | > | káŋka | KA |
| {kan-} | + | {-ŋgol} | > | káŋgol | NGOL |
| {kan-} | + | {-nde} | > | káyre | NDE |

However, the first and second person forms are different:

| Number: | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | mín | mínín |
| 1-2 | -- | 'énen |
| 2 | 'áan | 'ónon |

In contrast to the dependent pronouns, the independent pronouns are stressed. The most common use of the independent pronouns is to indicate emphasis, and they are also used in nominal positions apart from the verb phrase. In this latter use they do not contrast with the dependent pronouns, as these are used only in connection with verb phrases.

187] Sometimes the independent pronoun replaces the dependent pronoun.

| | |
|---|---|
| káŋko máɓɓiti láawol M 8.15 | He opened the road. |
| kámɓe ndéfata[1] M 58.4 | They [are the ones that] will cook. |
| náa káŋko mbári MS 2.14 | not he killed (he wasn't the one that killed) |
| káŋjam lóoti hákkeeji M 16.10 | It (blood) washed sins. |
| káŋko ɓúri vóoɗugo TG 54.2 | She [was the one who] surpassed in goodness. |
| káŋgu wòn 'ájal máaɗa M 173.5 | That [sickness] is your end. |
| láamɗo vii káŋko ɓáŋgata ɓíŋgel-'am. MS 131.8 | The king said he will marry my daughter. |

188] Sometimes the independent pronoun is used in addition to the dependent pronoun, or noun:

| | |
|---|---|
| káŋko ko-'o-jóoɗi, 'o-méeɗaay dáñyugo. MS 57.8 | She, since she's been there, she never had a child. |
| ɗáande húunde-nde káyre sómataa sám... MS 56.8 | The neck of this thing, it never tires...? |
| Yákub, káŋko dányi Yúsufu. M 182.4 | Jacob, he bore Joseph. |
| 'O-dányi káŋko MS 103.4 | She bore (a child) herself. |
| ɓe-mbéeri kámɓe-boo. MS 142.1 | They camped they also. |
| léggal ŋgá'al káŋgal wóni 'ánnoora méeɗen. M 180.2 | This wood, it is our light. |
| ɓíŋgel-boo yótti káŋgel-boo MS 55.6 | The child arrived, it did too. |

---

[1] Future forms of verbs following independent pronouns are modified, see paragraph 240.

189] The independent pronouns can also be used to emphasize a complement. If it is used without the dependent pronoun, it precedes the verb.

| | |
|---|---|
| *káŋko* 'Álla jó"ini M 8.19 | [It was] *he* God placed. |
| to-'a-'áawdi kálluɗum máa-? *kánjum* 'a-sóɗata. M 16.20 | If you sow evil--*that* [is what] you will reap. |
| *káŋgol* 'o-tókkata. M 173.1 | *That* [is the one] (road) he will follow. |
| *káŋka* mbíi-noo-maa-mi MS 57.3 | *That* [is what] I had told you. |
| *kánjam* 'o-yáarani mállum. MS 76.3 | *That* (salt) [is what] she took to the teacher. |

190] It may also be used preceding the verb phrase in conjunction with an independent demonstrative:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ɓo-ɗo *káŋko* ŋgíɗ-mi. MS 61.4 | He here *he* [it is] I want. |

But if the independent pronoun as a complement is to follow the verb phrase, the independent pronoun is also present:

| | |
|---|---|
| mbára-mo-le *káŋko*. MS 62.8 | Kill *him* then! (Go ahead and kill this one then!) |

However, following an attention particle either may follow:

| | |
|---|---|
| ndáa *káŋko* óm-ɗo. M 171.6 | There *he* that one here (There *he* is right here!) |
| cf. ndáa-mo MS 109.8 | There she is! |

191] When a referent, demonstrative or function word is to be used with a pronoun the independent form of the pronoun is used:

| | |
|---|---|
| *káŋko*-man, 'ʊ-túuta...MA 132.3 | That *one*, he would vomit... |
| *káŋko* 'ón mi-táwi, háa-nder láamu. M 175.5 | *He* [is] the one I found, on the throne. |
| 'o-wárta wúro, *káŋko*-man MS 64.1 | He should come back to town, that *one*. |

| | |
|---|---|
| káyre-go-boo[1] ɗobéeda<br>wásugo MS 66.2 | That one (ground-squirrel)<br>also kept on digging. |
| káŋko 'óo, 'o-ɗumáani MS 76.5 | He, that one, he [is] a what-you may-call-it. |
| 'o-jóoɗi káŋko-go ND 89.8 | He sat there, that one [did]. |

192] The use of the independent pronoun in nominal positions not connected with the verb phrase may be seen in the following examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-nyáamataa nde[r]-ɓíkkoy sám<br>séy féere màako káŋko. MS 103.8 | He never eats with the children,<br>only by himself he (alone). |
| káŋko bee-káaw màako-go. MS 100.4 | He with his uncle-referred to |
| Wóodaa góɗɗo séy káŋko... MS 73.3 | There is no one only him. |

193] 3.24 Nominalizing pronouns

The dependent object class pronouns are used to nominalize clauses so that the whole acts as a nominal. However, the neuter pronoun is ko- rather than ɗum- although ɗúm-ko does occur. The neuter form is used more often than all the other forms together for this construction. Forms other than ko- or mo- are not in frequent use.

| | |
|---|---|
| S V | |
| mo-ŋgíimi máaya MS 1.6 | Who sees me would die. |
| S V O | |
| 'Álla 'ándi ko-'en-kúuwata<br>M 11.9 | God knows what we will do. |
| Co$_1$ | |
| ko-dáada máako wáɗɗi fúu | Whatever his mother brought he |
| S V Co$_2$ | |
| 'o-yáarana ɓíŋgel...MS 55.2 | would take to the child... |

---

[1] The use of -boo with the independent pronoun indicates a change of subject.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| V S<br>wálaa ko wálaa | MS 55.8 | There is not that is not<br>(There is nothing lacking.) |
| gíite méeɗen ndáro haa-<br>'ándal ngal-ɓe-'ándini-'en. | M 181.5 | May our eyes rest in the knowledge<br>that they have made known to us. |
| 'Álmasiihu wóodi ɓérnde<br>nde-ɓérnata. | M 185.3 | Christ has a heart that will<br>anger. |

ɗúm-ko is used to refer to two or more subjects.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| O<br>Tóreego bee-hókkugo ɗúm-<br>V S<br>ko ndón-daa | MS 69.1 | To be begged and to give [is]<br>what you inherited. |

ha- (har-) may nominalize a clause. The whole acts as a locative and may replace a nominal.

NP

NZ Clause

| | |
|---|---|
| ha-koy-dondógga-do<br>góngel féere dó"i..AB 5.12 | Where they were running there,<br>various ones fell... |

194] Another nominalizing pronoun used by many speakers in Adamawa is je-. I have no examples of this pronoun used by Mal-Ɓaali, Mallum Abaayi or Mallum Markus. This pronoun may refer to all areas covered by the other nominalizing pronouns.

Instead of mo-/ɓe-:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| súkaajo...je-'o-yíɗi | MA 147.4 | The young man that she loved |
| rówɓe táti je-'o-héɓi | ND 90.1 | The three women that he got |

Instead of dum-(or the class pronoun):

| | |
|---|---|
| lékki...je-wúro G 169.1 | The medicine that of the town. |
| húunde-man náa bána je-dáada Ibr 52.10 | The thing was not like that [of] mother. |

Instead of ko-:

| | |
|---|---|
| ko-'o-víi-mo pát MA 132.5 | What she told him all (everything she told him) |

See also the interrogative pronouns and noun phrases.

195] 3.3 Referents

There are four referent words: -do, 'ón, máajum/-man, -go. These are defined as referent words not only because they refer to nouns or subjects (pronouns also do) but also because in addition to this they occupy a specific position in the noun phrase (see 329-346). The use of these referents is not the same for all of Adamawa and the description of these is as used by our three main informants (Mal-Saali, Mal-Abaayi and Mallum Muhammadu).

196] -go refers to the head noun as a major subject in the present discourse which has previously been identified. The time interval between references may be as long as four minutes.

H PPr Ref
..débbo-ma-go máayi. MS 99.3 wife your that-one died

The context is a story, and the man's head wife brought the husband the news of the death of one of his wives. The last time they had spoken of any woman was when they had talked about this one.

197] máajum/-man-: -man refers to the head noun as the subject now being spoken of.

H Ref
'a-'áawa mbáyeeri-man MS 106.8 you plant sorghum-this

It should be noted that máajum/-man are neuter possessive pronouns and that in most cases they seem to fill the same position as all the other possessive pronouns. Compare:

| | |
|---|---|
| húunde máajum náawi. AB 2.13 | That thing hurt |

with

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓándu máako ɗonáawa M | His body is hurting |

But

| | |
|---|---|
| ɗíi wóni bélɗi máako-man MS 68.8 | These are her sweetnesses (that are already) mentioned |
| sóoba'en-'am máajum AB 122.3 | these my friends |

-man and máajum fill essentially the same general functions but -man seems to be used more freely in a variety of ways than máajum. In examples I have from Adamawa Fulani, 75 percent of the examples of máajum are used with a single noun while only 55 percent of the examples of -man are so used.

198] The locative -ɗo is also used as a referent. -ɗo refers to the head noun as a subject close to the speakers (in space).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| H PPr ATN Ref<br>ɓiŋgel màako féere-ɗo | MS 103.7 | child his another here<br>(this other child of his) |
| mín-ɗo | MS 84.1 | I here |

ɗo- may also be used pronominally.[1]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| háa mi-tímmina ɗóo<br>mi-nyáama ɗóo-boo | MS 64.4 | that I finish this here (and) I eat this here too.<br>(Let me finish this, then I'll eat that too.) |
| ɗóo ko-képtu-mi | M 179.1 | This here [is] what I remember. |
| ɗó fúu | M 1.20 | this here all |

---

[1] I have one example of the locative [-to] used pronominally 'o-rúfi-to-go MS 82.6 'He dumped that that we talked about.'

199] 'ón refers to the head noun as the subject specifically chosen (there was a choice).

| | |
|---|---|
| H Ref<br>kánje 'ón náati nder-<br>'Alkura'áani. M 14.8 | Those entered in the Koran.<br>(Those were the verses that got into the Koran.) |
| Pr Ref<br>'áan 'ón 'ándi ND 85.6 | You [are] the one that knows |
| ŋgam-káŋko 'ón tágu-maa DY 2.5 | Because he [is] the one who created you. |
| jáŋgo-kam mín 'ón jóoɗoowo<br>MS 108.2 | But tomorrow I [am] the one to sit.<br>(One of several who could do this) |
| NP NP<br>N Ref N Ref<br>'asée háala-ɗo góoŋga 'ón.<br>MA 143.1 | Well! This talk is true.<br>(most people thought it was false) |

## 200] 3.4 Numerals

### 3.41 Chart

| | Cardinals | Ordinal Stems | Adjective stems (or forms) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | gó'o[1] | 'áran- | wóot-[3] |
| 2 | ɗíɗi | ɗíɗáɓ-[2] | ɗíɗ- |
| 3 | táti | tatáɓ- | tát- |
| 4 | náyi | nayáɓ- | náy- |
| 5 | jówi | jowáɓ-[3] | jów-[3] |
| 6 | jóweego | jóweegó'o- | jóweegó'o[4] |
| 7 | jóweeɗíɗi | jóweeɗíɗaɓ- | jóweeɗíɗ- |
| 8 | jóweetáti | jóweetátaɓ- | jóweetát- |
| 9 | jóweenáyi | jóweenáyaɓ- | jóweenáy- |
| 10 | sáppo | sáppo- | sáppo |
| 11 | sáppo 'e-gó'o | sáppo 'e-gó'o- | sáppo 'e-gó'o |
| 20 | nóogas | nóogas- | nóogas |
| 30[5] | cáppanɗe táti | cáppanɗe tatáɓ- | cáppanɗe tát- |
| 100 | témmerre | témmerre- | témmerre |
| 200 | témmeɗɗe ɗíɗi | témmeɗɗe ɗiɗáɓ- | témmeɗɗe ɗíɗ- |
| 1000 | 'újineere | 'újineere- | 'újineere |
| 10,000 | 'újine sáppo | 'újine sáppo- | 'újine sáppo |
| 100,000 | 'újine témmerre | 'újine témmerre- | 'újine témmerre |
| 1,000,000 | mílyo[6] | mílyo- | mílyo |

---

[1] gó'oojo, etc. may be used to indicate 'one of' as in gó'oojo móoɗon wára 'one of you should come' cf. 'árano móoɗon wára 'The first one of you should come' Mal-Daawuda.

[2] For some speakers w is used rather than ɓ e.g. ɗiɗáwre.

[3] Forms beginning in j participate in initial consonant alternation, as does the form beginning in w.

[4] The adjective forms without final hyphen undergo no change in form.

[5] For the formation of other tens see 201.

[6] mílyo is not used by all Fulani speakers.

3

## 201] 3.42 Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals are used for serial counting. The forms do not change. There are single words for 1/2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 20, 100, 1000, 1,000,000. All other numbers and fractions are formed by combinations of these numbers. The numbers six through nine are formed by adding the numerals one to four to the numeral five, e.g. six is *jóweego* or *jówi* plus *'e* plus *gó'o* 'five and one.' Seven is five plus two, eleven is ten plus one, etc. For the tens there are *sáppo* 'ten', *nóogas*[1] 'twenty' and for 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, and 90 the forms *cáppanɗe* plus the unit numbers are used, e.g. *cáppanɗe táti* '30'. There are singular and plural forms for 100 and 1000, i.e. *témmerre* - *témmeɗɗe* 'hundred' and *'újineere* - *'újine* 'thousand.' *Réeta* is 'one half'[2] and *réetita* 'one fourth.'

Equal distribution is expressed by repeating the numeral.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-tókka móɗugo táti táti AB 121.3 | You keep on swallowing three at a time. |
| gúde ɗíɗi ɗíɗi 'o-háddoto MS 56.3 | She will always wear two skirts. |
| jówi jówi ɓe-fúu ND 2.15 | They all [had] five (they had five each). |
| ɓe-vúrta góotel góotel ND 89.5 | They should come out one at a time. |

Repetition is expressed by *nde-*[3] plus the numeral.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| nde-wóore | MS 108.4 | once |
| nde-ɗíɗi | AB 121.1 | twice |
| nde-táti | M 173.5 | three times |

---

[1] Some speakers west of Adamawa use *cáppanɗe ɗíɗi* for twenty. In most Hausa areas the words for the tens from 20-90 are Hausa loans of Arabic origin.

[2] Adaptations to the needs of modern arithmetic have been attempted, but the results are neither uniform nor widely accepted. See Klingenheben 1963 and Taylor 1953.

[3] *cíli* is also used.

202] Currency calculation in Cameroun is often based on the five franc piece which is called dála or súŋko. One hundred francs are 'twenty fives' dála nóogas; five hundred francs are 'one hundred fives' dála témmerre. For amounts larger than five hundred francs, the system used is the one based on francs and 'bags.'
bóoro góotel = '1000 francs' literally 'one bag.'
bóoro ɗíɗi bee (súley) témmerre jówi '2,500 francs' or '2 bags 500.'

203] 3.43 Concordant numerals

Concordant numerals are based on the cardinal numeral stems except for 'one.' There are two series of concordant numerals: the ordinals and the adjectives.

204] 3.431 The ordinal numerals are composed of the ordinal numeral stems plus the short form of the nominal suffixes (see 107) when the stem ends in ɓ or n. When the stem ends in any other phoneme,[1] the derivational suffixes occur. For example:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɗíɗaɓo | the second (person) |
| 'áranol | the first NGOL |
| 'árandeere | the first NDE (in time) |
| jóweeɗíɗawol | the seventh NGOL |
| sáppoore | the tenth NDE |

The ordinal numerals are used to specify the rank of an item in a series.

Ɗíɗaɓo-? láaroowo ND 90.2 The second [man was a] magician.

The ordinal number for 'one' is based on the stem 'áran-[2] as well as gó'o-.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'árano | the first (person) |

---

[1] jóweeɗíɗaha 'the seventh KA' ɗíɗaha, ɗíɗayel, etc. are used by some speakers.

[2] 'árande (NDE class) 'the first time' refers to time and other forms with time reference are based on it. For example: 'ùmmuŋgal 'árandewal 'the first resurrection (in time).'

205] 3.432 *The adjectival numerals* are used in modifying nominals or in acting as pronominals. Although the adjectival numerals do exhibit concord, this concord is limited. The initial consonant change is normal. For all classes but the person, diminutive and augmentative,[1] the form of the adjectival numerals is the same as the cardinal numerals.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| wórɓe ɗíɗo | AB 10.1 | two men |
| jigáaje ɗíɗi | MS 184.2 | two vultures |
| bálɗe táti | MS 57.6 | three days |
| yímɓe táto | MS 93.2 | three people |
| ɓíkkoy tátoy | Mal-Dáawuda | three children |
| kósɗe náyi pát | MS 107.7 | all four feet |
| ɓíɓɓe njóweetato | MS 61.8 | eight children |
| lébbi sáppo e-ɗíɗi | Ma 118.7 | twelve months |

Numerals may also replace nominals and thus function as pronominals.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| góoto hóo'i dáwaaɗi ɗíɗi. | MS 97.5 | One (woman) took two dogs. |
| Hóosu ɗíɗi | MS 94.3 | Take two. |
| 'o-wáddi sáppo | MS 77.6 | He brought ten. |
| to-'o-wáawi límugo sáppo. | M 1.10 | if he can count ten |
| sáppoore-man | ND 90.1 | the tenth NDE |

As can be seen from the chart in paragraph 207, the adjectival numerals *sáppo*, any numeral + *'e-gó'o*, *nóogas*, *témmerre*, *'újineere*, and *mílyo* do not undergo any alteration in form.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| bálɗe sáppo | MA 142.8 | ten days |
| yímɓe sáppo | MS 74.8 | ten people |
| dúuɓi sáppo | MS 80.1 | ten years |
| túubaliije 'újineere | M 175.1 | a thousand bricks |

---

[1] According to D. W. Arnott, the augmentative suffix is *-o*.

In compound numerals often only the last form is changed.

| | |
|---|---|
| ...ɓén 'újine témmerre<br>'e-cáppanɗe náyi<br>'e-'újine náyo. M | Those one hundred and<br>forty-four thousand<br>[persons]. |

206] The numeral adjective 'one' {wóot-} has a stem that is not like that of either the cardinals or ordinals. It functions in the same way as nominal adjectives (see 99). The short form of the nominal suffix occurs with this stem, and the initial consonant alternation is complete.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| péllel góotel | MS 196.7 | one place |
| kúsoy ŋgóotoy | MS 198.7 | animals [are] one |
| júŋgo wóoto | MS 193.7 | one hand |

## 3.5 Demonstratives and Interrogatives

### 3.51 Chart

| | Demonstratives | | | | Interrogatives | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NEAR | | | FAR | | |
| | Dependent | Independent | | | | |
| 1) | -'o | 'óo | 'ó'o | 'óya | móye | |
| 2) | -ɓe | ɓée | ɓé'e | ɓéya | ɓéye | ɓe'en |
| 3) | -nde | ndée | ndé'e | ndéya | ndéye | ndéyeere |
| 4) | -ndi | ndíi | ndí'i | ndíya | ndíye | ndíyeeri |
| 5) | -ndu | ndúu | ndú'u | ndúya | ndúye | ndúyeeru |
| 6) | -ŋge | ŋgée | ŋgé'e | ŋgéya | ŋgéye | ŋgéyeye |
| 7) | -ŋgo | ŋgóo | ŋgó'o | ŋgóya | ŋgóye | ŋgóyewo |
| 8) | -ŋgu | ŋgúu | ŋgú'u | ŋgúya | ŋgúye | ŋgúyewu |
| 9) | -ŋgal | ŋgáal | ŋgá'al | ŋgála | ŋgále | ŋgálewal |
| 10) | -ŋgol | ŋgóol | ŋgó'ol | ŋgóla | ŋgóle | ŋgólewol |
| 11) | -ka | káa | ká'a | káya | káye | káyeha |
| 12) | -ki | kíi | kí'i | kíya | kíye | kíyehi |
| 13) | -ko | kóo | kó'o | kóya | kóye | kóyeho |
| 14) | -kol | kóol | kó'ol | kóla | kóle | kólewol |
| 15) | -ɗam | ɗáam | ɗá'am | ɗáma | ɗáme | ɗámeejam |
| 16) | -ɗum | ɗúum | ɗú'um | ɗúma | ɗúme | ɗúmeejum, ɗúmeejo, etc. |
| 17) | -ɗe | ɗée | ɗé'e | ɗéya | ɗéye | ɗéyeeje |
| 18) | -ɗi | ɗíi | ɗí'i | ɗíya | ɗíye | ɗíyeeji |
| 19) | -kal | káal | ká'al | kála | kále | kálehal |
| 20) | -ŋgum | ŋgúum | ŋgú'um | ŋgúma | ŋgúme | ŋgúmeyum |
| 21) | -ŋgel | ŋgéel | ŋgé'el | ŋgéla | ŋgéle | ŋgéleyel/ŋgélel |
| 22) | -koy | kóoy | kó'oy | kóya | kóye | kóyehoy |
| 23) | -ŋga | ŋgáa | ŋgá'a | ŋgáya | ŋgáye | ŋgáyewa |
| 24) | -ko | kóo | kó'o | kóya | kóye | kóyeho |
| NZ | mo- | | | | mó(y)(e) | |
| Other | to- | | | | tó(y)(e) | |
| | nde- | | | | ndé(y)(e) | |
| | no- | | | | nó(y)(e) | |

### 208] 3.52 Demonstratives

There are two types of demonstratives, near and far. The near demonstratives point to something that is near and the far demonstratives to that which is distant. However, the semantic areas covered by these demonstratives cannot be equated with those of English.

Generally speaking, far demonstratives ~~are~~ used for objects beyond hearing but not necessarily out of sight, while near demonstratives are within hearing distance.

There are two sets of near demonstratives; the dependent, which have the same form as the class pronouns and are unstressed clitics, and the independent near demonstratives which are stressed and are formed by lengthening the vowel of the class pronouns or by the addition of another syllable.[1]

The dependent near demonstratives follow the nominals they modify.

| | |
|---|---|
| ndámba-ka | this cold |
| húɗo-ko | this grass |
| kúseljum-ɗum | this kind of meat |
| yímɓe-ɓe | these people |

The independent near demonstratives also follow the nominals they modify but may function pronominally.

| | |
|---|---|
| débbo 'ó'o | this woman |
| sóobaajo màaɗa 'ó'o | this friend of yours |
| háala kàa | this palaver |
| ɗáam bóoɗɗam[2] | this (milk) [is] good |
| ŋgáal jóoɗi tò, ŋgáal jóoɗi ɗò.<br>MS 77.6 | This [chair] sat here, this one sat there. (This chair was here and that one there.) |

---

[1] Some speakers alternate between both forms, but many use only one of the two.

[2] Contrast with ɗam-bóoɗɗam 'it (milk) [is] good.'

The far demonstratives are formed by adding -ya[1] to the class pronouns with stress on the first syllable.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Class Pr. | + | -ya | + | Stress | |
| e.g. | -nde- | + | -ya | + | Stress | > ndéya |
| | -ŋgal- | + | -ya | + | Stress | > ŋgála |

The far demonstratives have no variant forms.

| | |
|---|---|
| gérlal ŋgála | that partridge |
| púccu ŋgúya | that horse |
| rawáandu ndúya | that dog |
| ŋgórgi màako 'óya | that colleague of his |

The far demonstratives may be used pronominally.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'óya...hóo'i sáwru | MS 93.5 | that one (person) took a cane |
| béya-go...'úmmi | MS 93.3 | those (people) arose |
| 'O-náŋgi ŋgála ɗò-boo. | MS 66.5 | She caught that one here too (She caught that one near her there too.) |

### 209 3.53 Interrogatives

The nominal class interrogatives are used in questioning a subject in order to specify which one of two or more is being referred to.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kósam ɗáme...? | MS 200.7 | Which milk? |
| rímɓe ɓéye...? | MS 199.1 | Which freed slaves? |
| 'Iísa móye 'a-ándi? | M 10.16 | Which Jesus do you know? |
| 'áan móy-ɗo | MS A.1 | You which here? (Who are you?) |

There are two forms of the class interrogatives. The short form consists of the dependent class pronoun plus -e and the long form is composed of the short form plus the derivational suffix of the same class. The use of the long form emphasizes the question.

---

[1] C + y > C (see 68).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ŋgáari ndíiyeeri | MS 188.8 | Which bull? |
| nyálaade ndéyeere? | M 8.26 | Which day? |
| húnduko kóyeho...? | MS 196.2 | Which mouth? |
| líɗɗi ɗíyeeji...? | G 157.8 | What fish? |

The neuter class short interrogative form may be suffixed with a derivational form from another class.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ɗúme? | | what |
| ɗún ɗùméejo? | M b | This - what sort of person?<br>(What sort of person is this?) |

## 210] 3.6 Limiters

Limiters define the quantity of the nominal in some way other than numerically and are the first and last elements of a noun phrase.

Limiters that precede the nominal are kála, kéerol and híl.[1] These forms are used rather sparingly and are usually (but not always) followed by one or the other of two last element limiters, fúu/pát. kála and kéerol both designate 'every, each' but have different dialect distribution.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kála mo-'o-tókki | ND 85.1 | Every one he followed |
| kála lényol máako fúu | ND 85.1 | Every one of his clan |
| kéerol ha-jókke jókke ŋgóni fúu | MS 104.4 | Wherever joints were |
| kéerol débbo fúu | MS 96.3 | Every woman |

híl indicates that the following nominal is the only one and can be translated 'only.'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| híl ndéera máŋga | MS 94.6 | only a large stomach |

Limiters that follow the nominal are fúu, pát and tán. fúu and pát indicate that the entire quantity of the preceding nominal is under consideration and may often be translated 'all.'

---

[1] ɓúrna ('Árɗo, G, M) and 'írin (Árɗo, G, DY) probably also function in this position.

Outside Adamawa pát is very rarely used. Some Adamawa speakers prefer one over the other. In the speech of Mal-Saali, I have 88 examples of pát and 79 of fúu, and they seem to be interchangeable as to both position and meaning. When all the Adamawa data available to me was examined, fúu was found to be used 196 times and pát 116 times.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| báaba bee-ɓíŋgel fúu | MS 96.7 | father and child both |
| círɗi-go fúu | MS 95.6 | all those leopards |
| yímɓeeji-go pát | MS 98.2 | all those kinds of people |
| kósɗe náyi pát | MS 107.7 | all four feet |

tán like híl can be translated 'only,' but tán follows the nominal. tán is often collocated with séy while the other limiters would not co-occur with séy.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| séy hímɓe njóweetato tán kísi. | M 3.6 | Only eight people were saved. |
| séy wóore tán | AB 6.13 | Only one alone. |
| kányum tán lútti | MS 90.6 | That alone is left. |

# CHAPTER 4 VERBALS

## 211] 4.1 Introduction

A verb phrase[1] is the central element of most clauses (see 350-353 and chapter seven). A generalized formula for most clauses can be expressed as: (Subject noun phrase(s)) VP (Complement noun phrase(s)). Although subject and object pronouns may form a single complex word, these pronominal elements are not part of the verb phrase as they represent noun phrases and act as noun phrases on the phrase level.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ɓe-káɓɓani-mo-ɗi. | MS 98.2 | They tied them up for her. |
| NP VP NP NP | | |

The verb phrase core is composed of verb stem plus tense-aspect-voice suffix. The verb stem can be a verb root or a verbalized noun or adjective root with or without the stem extensions, and can be expressed as:

$$\text{verb stem} = \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{verb root}\\ \quad\text{or}\\ \text{verbalized noun}\\ \quad\text{or}\\ \text{verbalized adjective}\end{array}\right. \quad \left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{with stem extension(s)}\\ \text{or}\\ \text{without stem extensions}\end{array}\right.$$

Some examples are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Verb root | wár- | come |
| Verbalized adjective | ɓál-w- | black |
| Verbalized noun | bárk-iɗ- | bless |
| Verb root with stem extension | wár-t- | come back |
| | wár-t-ir- | come back in a certain way |
| Verbalized noun with stem extension | bárk-iɗ-in- | cause to bless |

---

[1] The term verb phrase signifies any word or words which may occupy a verb position in a clause.

## 212] 4.2 Verb Stem

The verb stem is a verb root (or verbalized adjective or nominal root) with or without the stem extension(s). Tense-aspect-voice suffixes are added to this stem.

### 213] 4.21 Verb Roots

Verb roots generally occur in a CVC(C) pattern.

| | |
|---|---|
| wár- | come |
| díll- | go away |
| sákl- | be confused |
| hóot- | go home |

There is an alternation of certain initial root consonants between singular and plural forms. This is related to the stem initial alternation that takes place in nominal stems (see 109-113). The following chart indicates the alternances that occur between the initial consonants of verbal roots.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fricative: | v/w | $w^B/y^F$ | $y^B$[1] | r | f | s | h | (singular) |
| Pre-nasal: | mb | ŋg | nj | nd | p | c | k | (plural) |

w followed by front vowels (e, i) does not alternate with g/ŋg. y followed by central and back vowels (a, u, o) always alternates with j/nj.

The first set ('fricative') occurs in singular forms while the second set occurs in plural forms.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-wári | he came |
| ɓe-ŋgári | they came |
| 'o-vámi | he weaved |
| ɓe-mbámi | they weaved |
| 'o-wámi | he danced |
| ɓe-ŋgámi | they danced |
| 'o-yérdi | he agreed |
| ɓe-ŋgérdi | they agreed |

---

[1] B indicates back vowels, F front vowels.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-yári | he drank |
| ɓe-njári | they drank |
| 'o-rémi | he hoed |
| ɓe-ndémi | they hoed |
| 'o-fáami | he understood |
| ɓe-páami | they understood |
| 'o-súumi | he fasted |
| ɓe-cúumi | they fasted |
| 'o-háɓi | he struggled |
| ɓe-káɓi | they struggled |

214] However, the alternation of the initial consonants between singular and plural forms does not always take place. In a small sample of five to ten minutes of speech from each of five Adamawa informants only the plural verb forms with potential alternation were examined. The following chart indicates the occurrence of such alternation:

| | Alternation realized | Alternation not realized | TOTAL plural forms |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mallum Markus | 30 | 2 | 32 |
| Mallum Abaayi | 41 | 1 | 42 |
| Mallum Saali | 40 | 0 | 40 |
| A Ngaoundéré informant | 0 | 65 | 65 |
| A Baaseo informant | 12 | 23 | 35 |
| TOTALS | 123 | 91 | 214 |

Mallum Markus did not have an alternant of s, and the two examples given are where s appeared where c would be expected.

There is some indication that the style of the Baaseo speaker may govern the use of alternation. The variation in the use of initial consonant alternation in verbs may well indicate both social dialects as well as geographical dialects within Adamawa.

Note, however, that there is very much less variation in the realized alternation of the initial consonant of nominals than that of verbs (see 109-113).

215] All verb roots and many verb stems can occur with nominal class suffixes (see 98). The resulting word is a nominal.

| | |
|---|---|
| gárɗo < {wár-ɗo} | he who came |

| | |
|---|---|
| gártoynooɗo < {wár-it-oy-noo-ɗo} Root-SE-SE-noo-class suffix | he who had come from a distance |
| jággantooɓe(-ʼen) < {jágg-an-otoo-ɓe} (Root-SE-future emph.-class suffix) | those who will work for (us) |

Certain verb stems are composed of a verb root plus stem extensions. However, the root is not found to occur without the extensions. We shall consider these as roots. They are not very numerous.

| | |
|---|---|
| fákkit- | to make fun of |
| wúdin- | to throw away |
| tíndin- | to explain |

Other verb stems are borrowed roots that cannot be classified with regular verb roots or stems. These are rare.

| | |
|---|---|
| hákkil- | be careful (Arabic) |

Roots may be reduplicated for emphasis. These do not occur frequently. In each of the following examples, a stem extension is added to the reduplicated root.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| pàwpáwn- | MA | to dress one's very best |
| mbàrmbárn- | MS | to systematically kill |
| wèrwért- | MS | to flourish (grow well) |

## 216] 4.22 Verbalizers

There are two verbalizers {-w-} and {-iɗ-}. When either of these occur with a noun or adjective root, a verb stem is formed. The verbalizing morphemes occur directly after the noun or adjective root. They are not used extensively.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -w- | Adjective Root | + | -w- | > | verb stem |
| | ɓál-[1] black | + | -w- | > | ɓálw- to be black |

---

[1] But note that wóɗ- plus verbalizer becomes wóoj-.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | rán- | white | + | -w- | > | ránw- | to be white |
| | náy- | old | + | -w- | > | náyw- | to be old |
| | Noun root | | + | -w- | > | verb stem | |
| | túun- | dirt | + | -w- | > | túunw- | to be dirty |
| {iɗ-} | Adjective root | | + | {-iɗ-} | > | verb stem | |
| | yám- | well | + | {-iɗ-} | > | yamɗ- | to be well |
| | rím- | free (non-slave) | + | {-iɗ-} | > | rimɗ- | to be free |
| | fám- | small | + | {-iɗ-} | > | fámɗ- | to be small |
| | ɗóm- | thirst | + | {-iɗ-} | > | ɗómɗ- | to be thirsty |
| | Noun root | | + | {-iɗ-} | > | verb stem | |
| | sémb- | strength | + | {-iɗ-} | > | sémbiɗ- | to strengthen |
| | góoŋg- | truth | + | {-iɗ-} | > | góoŋɗ- | to make true |
| | bárk- | blessing | + | {-iɗ-} | > | bárkiɗ- | to bless |

### 217] 4.23 Stem Extension[1] (SE)

Stem extensions are suffixed to the verb root (or nominal or adjectival root plus a verbalizer) and alter the meaning of the original form. The new stem may have the same tense-aspect-voice markers as the original stem.

The stem extensions occur in two main sets, the first set having alternants while the second set does not.[2] (See 62 and 235-237.)

| Voice | First main set | | Second main set | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Active | {-id-} | {-ir-} | | | |
| Emphatic | -od- | -or- | | | |
| No distinction | | | -indir- | | |
| | {-it-} | {-in-} | -ootir- | | |
| | | | -ikin- | -an- | -oy- |

---

[1] Cf. Arnott 1956 pp. 133-4 and Klingenheben 1963 pp. 187-194.

[2] With the probable exception of -(i)kin- which is very rarely heard in Adamawa.

218] The verb stems which occur with active forms will also occur with {-it-}, {-id-}, {-in-}, {-ir-}. Under specified phonological or morphological conditions the alternants -*t*-, -*d*-, -*n*-, and -*r*- occur. When a verb root or verb stem ends in a consonant cluster the full form of the stem extension is used.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| hókkit- | sáŋkit- | yámɗit- |
| díllid- | hálkid- | jáptid- |
| tímmin- | wúrtin- | fíndin- |
| lúttir- | hálkir- | wártir- |

In this position the full rather than the short form of the morpheme is used to avoid creating certain undesirable consonant clusters.

The alveopalatal, voiceless velar and the prenasalized stops do not occur as the first member of a consonant cluster, hence:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| fíjir- | instead of | *fíjr- |
| séndit- | | *séndt- |
| séndir- | | *séndr- |
| náŋgit- | | *náŋgt– |

There are also other consonant combinations which are not normally found (see consonant cluster chart in paragraph 56), hence:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ɓádit | instead of | *ɓádt- |
| yíɗir- (or yírri) | | *yídr- |
| sákit- | | *sákt- |
| héɗit | | *héɗt- |
| hóotid- | | *hóotd- |
| lóotir- | | *lóotr- |

After *l* or *s* the full form of the stem extension is normally used:

hóosit-
sáalit- (but compare hólt-)
séelit- (but compare yáalt-)
mbólid- (compare also júuln-)
táalir-

Stem extensions which follow other stem extensions will occur with the full form:

ɗáɓɓitir-
tímmitinir-

219] Verb stems with emphatic voice forms substitute -*od*- for {-id-} and -*or*- for {-ir-}:

jóoɗod-
wá"od-
wúrtod-

jóoɗor-
húltor-
wáalor-

220] When a verb stem has more than one extension, the order of the individual morphemes within the first main set is usually {-it-}, {-id-}, {-in-}, {-ir-}.

tímmitinir-
tímmidin-
jáptid-

However, after a few verb stems the order may be different:

dárnit-
nyáwnd-

One might explain the first case as one of *dárn*- becoming a new verb stem. In the case of *nyáwnd*- the *nd* is best considered as a unit phoneme. But one would expect **nyáwdin*- and **dártin*. *Dártin*- is possible if one considers *dárt*- as the verb stem.

221] The second main set of verbal extensions is:

-ikin-
-indir-
-ootir-

-an-

-oy-

These have no alternate forms. They will appear in the order given above after the extensions of the first main set, if one or more elements of the first main set are present.

sákkinan-
máɓɓitan-
lórtan-
ndányan-
fóynan-
hóoran-
njáaran-

wároy-
hóofnoy-
ɗáɓɓitoy-
táaskoy-
ŋgártidoy-
wártiroy-
yárnanoy-

| | |
|---|---|
| 'A-fáamikini? | Do you make a pretense of understanding? |
| 'en-áccindirtaa | We will not leave one another. |
| 'en-jáɓɓootiri | We welcome one another. |

222] Meaning of the stem extensions.

{-it-} Repetitive or reversive

The addition of this morpheme indicates that the action of the root is repeated (1b, 5b) or reversed (2b, 3b, 4b, 6b).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | a) | 'o-fúɗɗi | MA 142.8 | He started. |
| | b) | 'o-fúɗɗiti | cf M 178.4 | He started again. |
| 2 | a) | 'o-wári | MS 66.15 | He came. |
| | b) | 'o-wárti | M 175.3 | He came back. |
| 3 | a) | kólɗo | Proverb | Naked one. |
| | b) | kóltiiɗo | Proverb | Clothed one. |
| 4 | a) | 'o-máɓɓi | M 177.4 | He shut (them). |
| | b) | 'o-máɓɓiti gíte | M 177.4 | He opened (his) eyes. |
| 5 | a) | 'o-'ándi-mo | cf MS 62.2 | He knows him. |
| | b) | 'o-'ánditi-mo | cf MA 131.2 | He recognized him. |
| 6 | a) | 'o-hókki | MA 140.6 | He gave. |
| | b) | 'o-hókkiti | G 159.2 | He gave back. |

223] {-id-} Associative or intensive

The addition of this morpheme indicates an associative or accompanying action (1b, 2b) or an intensification or completeness of the action of the root (3b, 4b).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | a) | ɓe-ndílli | AB 8.2 | They went. |
| | b) | ɓe-ndíllidi | AB 8.2 | They went together. |
| 2 | a) | o-hóoti bee-kúuje | cf MA 130.5 | He went home with the things. |
| | b) | o-hóotidi bee-kúuje | MS 60.8 | He went home right with the things. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | a) | ɓe-kálki cf MS 96.2 | They perished. |
| | b) | ɓe-kálkidi M 3.3 | They perished completely. |
| 4 | a) | mi-séeri-maa G 164.3 | I divorce you. |
| | b) | Láamɗo séerdi sáare réwɓe p$\overset{*}{\text{a}}$t MS 103.6 | The chief divorced all his wives |

224] {-in-} Causative

The addition of this morpheme indicates that the action of the verb is made to take place by the subject of the clause and that the action of the verb is applied to the object of the verb.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-ŋgúrti MS 77.7 | They came out. |
| ɓe-ŋgúrtini debbo MS 71.7 | They brought the woman out. |
| 'o-násti MS 36.7 | He went in. |
| háa 'o-nástina ɓíŋgel' MS 91.8 | So that he take the child in. (that he cause the child to go in) |
| 'o-nyáami MS 82.3 | He ate. |
| ɗum-nyáamnan-ɓe G 163.2 | It will feed them. |

225] {-ir-} Manner

The use of this morpheme indicates the manner in which an action is accomplished.[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| níi háala-man tímmiri'. tímmi. MS 97.4 | This is how the story ended. [it is] finished. |
| ɓe-ndílliri-ɓe MS 75.1 | They took them away (in a certain manner). |
| ndáa-ɗo mi-yéttiri-maa MS 64.7 | Here now is how I thank you. |
| tetékoy-ɗo bee-hóore-ɗo mi-'éwniri-maa MS 94.2 | These guts and this head is why I called you. |

---

[1] Arnott and Klingenheben call this a modal or instrumental extension.

226] -ikin- Simulative is very rarely heard in Adamawa Fulani.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-fáamikini? M | Do you make a pretense of understanding? (I know you really are unable to) |
| 'a-fáami? G 164.7 | Do you understand? |

227] -indir- -ootir- Reciprocal

-indir- is the more common of the two forms, while -ootir- occurs with the roots jáɓɓ-, wáab-, yédd-, tókk-, hópp-, táar-, 'eewéewt- in the Adamawa data available to me. Both forms are followed by active suffixes only.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-náŋgindiri háɓre MS 60.2 | They both started to fight. |
| mi-ɗosénd indira réwɓe bee-wórɓe Ma 1.4 | I am separating men from women. |
| ɓe-ɗokáajindira MS 60.4 | They are jealous of one another. |
| 'en-njáɓɓootiri MS 103.3 | We are saying goodbye to one another. |

228] -an- The dative extension must be defined in relation to its complement or object which is obligatory. The morpheme -an- plus its complement indicates that the action of the root is performed on behalf of the object (when the latter is animate) or with the object as a goal (when it is inanimate).

| | |
|---|---|
| háa mi-táalana-ʼon góngel-boo. MS 72.1 | Let me tell-story for you another. (Let me tell you another story.) |
| mi-ɗowáɗan-e dábare MS 104.2 | I am making a way for you. |
| 'o-wáddana-mmi kósam 'e-nɗíyam MS 92.3 | He should bring me milk and water. |
| 'o-lórtani ndéya MS 76.2 | She went back for that one. |
| náaŋge díllani cáka MS 60.2 | The sun went to noon. |

229] -oy- The distantive extension indicates that the action of the root is taking place at a distance from the speaker.

| | |
|---|---|
| kúuje-go ŋgároy MS 81.4 | Those things came from a distance. |
| lórtu láaroya háala-man MS 96.3 | Go-back look there at the problem. |
| mi-númtoy háala-go MS 102.2 | I thought there about that problem. |

## 230] 4.3 The Tense-Aspect-Voice System

### 4.31 Chart of Tense-Aspect-Voice System

| VOICE: | | ACTIVE | EMPHATIC | PASSIVE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| TENSE | | | | |
| PAST | Positive | -í/0 | -ake/-ii-[1] | -aama/-aa-[1] |
| | Negative | -áayi | -áaki | -áaka |
| FUTURE | Positive | -ata | -otoo | -etee[2] |
| | Negative | -atáa | -atáako | -atáake |
| CONTINUATIVE | Progressive | ɗo-....-a | ɗo-....-o | ɗo-....-e |
| | Durative | ɗo-....-i | | |
| ASPECT | Subjunctive | -a | -o | -e |
| | Imperative | -ee (2nd pl) | | |
| | | -u (all other) | | |
| | Optative | -ma | -ooma[3] | -eema[3] |
| | Polite Request | -íí-....-na | | |
| | (infinitive | -ugo | -aago | -eego)[4] |

PRE-TIME -noo may be suffixed to any of the six tense categories in all voices where these occur.

---

[1] The forms after the slash occur with nominal suffixes and inverted order pronouns.

[2] See footnote to paragraph 79.

[3] These forms are not attested by textual occurrences.

[4] Infinitives are subjects or complements of verb phrases (see 96, 341, 352).

### 231] 4.32 General Description of Categories

The above chart is a list of the combined morphemes of the tense-aspect-voice system. However, the system can be further analyzed. The tense morphemes are in first position. The past morpheme is zero, the future morpheme is {-at-}, the continuative morpheme is *ɗo-*, and it is prefixed to the verb root, while the other tense morphemes are suffixed to the verb root; however, the pre-time morpheme is suffixed directly to the continuative morpheme. Negative morphemes are added to positive ones to form negative tenses.

The negative morpheme {-áa-} is in second position in the system and negates the past and future tenses, but not the continuative.

In the future and continuative as well as in the subjunctive aspect, voices are distinguished by the suffix {-a} for the active voice, {-o} for the emphatic voice, and {-e} for the passive. For the past the active voice morpheme is {-i}, the emphatic voice morpheme is *-ake* in the positive and {-i} in the negative, and the passive voice morpheme is *-aama* in the positive and {-a} in the negative. In the case of nominalized verb roots, zero marks the active voice, *-ii-* the emphatic, and *-aa-* the passive. Voice markers are in final position in the verb phrase except for the optative. When a tense-aspect-voice morpheme beginning with a vowel immediately follows a morpheme ending in a vowel, *-k-* will occur between the two morphemes, e.g. negative and middle *-aa-* +{-i} > *-áaki*.

232] 4.321 *Tense* is differentiated from aspect in that the pre-time suffix (see 251) may be added to all the tense forms, but to none of the aspect forms. Tense may be divided into past, future and continuative. The future and continuative are differentiated from the past in that they are marked by the morphemes {-at-} and *ɗo-* while the past has a zero morpheme.

The boundaries between past and future meanings are separated in relation to the context which is not necessarily the actual present.

Negatives occur only in the past and future tenses. Past and future tenses are negated by the suffix {-áa}. Past negatives imply non-finality, while future negatives imply finality.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-yáháayi | 'I have not gone,' may mean, 'I hadn't intended to go.' |
| mi-yáhataa | 'I will not go,' may mean, 'I have no intention of going.' |

The continuative is, as the word implies, concerned with continuity with no indication of beginning or end. The progressive form is marked by the regular voice morphemes while the durative form is indicated by the morpheme -i with no voice distinction. The progressive indicates a continued action while the durative indicates a continued state. The same verb may occur in both forms although the list of verbs that occur with the durative is somewhat restricted. The stems jóoɗ-, wáal-, wónd-, dár-, 'ánd-, ɗáan-, 'sit, lie, be together, stand, know, sleep' are among the more common ones with restricted usage.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-ɗodára MS 201.7 | I am standing up. (in process) |
| góɗɗo ɗodári haa-hóore-am M 172.2 | A man was standing by my head. (passively) |

233] The pre-time suffix -noo is optional. When it occurs, it indicates that there was a previous intervening act (see 251).

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-násti | I entered (in the general past) |
| mi-násti-noo | I entered previously. (before another past event--in this case it would indicate the person had cancelled his previous entrance by going out). |
| mi-wáran | I shall come. (in the general future) |
| mi-wáran-noo | I would have come. (something prior to the proposed event occurred hindering its occurrence) |

234] 4.322 Aspect morphemes do not co-occur with -noo. These morphemes have no time connotation but indicate desires, wishes or conditions (see 247). None of the tense-aspect-voice forms can co-occur with one another except -noo.

235] 4.323 Voice: There are three sets of tense-aspect-voice forms, one for each voice: active, emphatic,[1] and passive. Active forms may be considered as basic. Verb stems are found with emphatic or passive forms only when these meanings are indicated.[2] Emphatic forms occur in Adamawa three times as often as passive forms while active forms are about 50 times more frequent than emphatic forms.

236] The employment of the emphatic voice indicates emphasis, and points to unexpected or dramatic results. Another way in which the meaning of the verb stem can be made prominent is by the use of emphatic stress. Emphatic stress does not co-occur with the emphatic voice suffixes. Note the following examples by the same speaker using the same verb stem in each case:

---

[1] Emphatic voice has been called reflexive and middle, that is to say that emphatic voice indicates an action done for oneself. It has been stated that emphatic voice has an intransitive meaning. While many examples can be found to show this, an investigation of numerous examples in context reveals that emphasis is central and that these meanings are accidental. (See Westermann and Bryan 1952, Taylor 1953, Arnott 1956, and Klingenheben 1963). In a private communication, Arnott reports that in view of a "fairly clear-cut function of the Middle in other dialects," he feels that "the use of the 'emphatic' voice in Adamawa may be simply residual." The answer to this must await a comparative study of the descriptive statements of various dialects.

[2] Arnott (1956) reports that some verb stems take only middle forms. However, an examination of these stems in many Adamawa speakers shows that both active and passive are used with these stems, though in varying proportions.

| | |
|---|---|
| ŋgésa máada ka-fúɗi MS 106.3 | That field of yours has started growing. |
| Dárabana 'o-[jónta-kam] fúɗake MS 60.3 | Now Darabana has really started to mature. |

The following examples show the use of the emphatic as opposed to the active voice (verbs with the emphatic voice are underlined):

| | |
|---|---|
| 1) 'Álla ɓádake ɓérnugo M 3.3 | God is about to get angry. |
| 2) na-'a-sáppake-yam? Ma 3.4 | Didn't you point at me? |
| 3) 'o-yóttake górko MS 60.3 | He attained manhood. |
| 4) wáɗataako káak-am AB 4.23 | That will never do, uncle. |
| 5) féere wáɗa féere wáɗataa M 22.13 | Some, some don't. |
| 6) máamaaji 'ámin yéccotoo Ma 1.18 | Our ancestors used to tell. |
| 7) ko-mi-yéccata jónta Ibr 52.1 | What I am telling now. |
| 8) 'a-ɗáani-na 'a-ɗáanaay? MS 109.3 | Are you sleeping or not? |
| 9) mi-ɗáanaaki ŋgórgi MS 109.3 | I am not sleeping, pal. |
| 10) séy 'o-wúrto DG 54.8 | She must come out. |
| 11) háa mi-wúrta G 162.2 | Let me come out. |

Examples which might be considered reflexive are 3, 4, 8, 9, and 11. Of these only 3, 4 and 9 are emphatic. Examples, 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 10 cannot be construed to be reflexive and yet of these only 5 and 7 are active. In only four of the eleven examples cited does this generalization apply. In examples 4, 5, 8 and 9 there is no object to the verb. Of these only 4 and 9 are in the emphatic voice. Examples showing that the action of the verb phrase has dramatic or unexpected results (i.e. is emphasized) are 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10 and these coincide with the emphatic-active dichotomy. Examples 5, 7, 8, and 11 indicate general or expected results. Examples here listed appear to be counter-examples:

12) nyánde fêere 'o-ándaa no-'o-dó"ortoo (...wáato ..ɗum-wáade máako) G 7.8 — Another day he won't know how he will fall.( it is in fact his death)

13) ko-'o-dó"ata pát 'Álla hísna-mo G 159.3 — Whatever he runs into may God save him.

Yet in example 12, that the person would fall was an expected or predictable result arising from his habits. Example 13 refers to the unforeseen happenings that one knows will come.

237] The passive voice indicates that the subject is the goal of the action of the verb phrase. The passive voice is rather rarely used in modern Adamawa. Active forms occur about 150 times for each passive form. In addition to this some of the most frequent forms are stereotyped expressions such as:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-jáɓɓaama MS | You are welcome.(you have been welcomed a long time in our minds) |

Of the 28 examples ending in -aama, 18 are jáɓɓaama, and six others are by a man born before 1900.

| | |
|---|---|
| púccu màako hírsaama ND 2.8 | His horse was killed.(by throat cutting) |
| ndíyam hèɓáaka MS 99.4 | Water has not been had. |
| ko-ví'ete súudu wáynaaɓe? MS 102.2 | What is called the house of. shepherds? |
| góoŋga jáɓatàake séy to-dúuri M | Truth will not be accepted until it has been around awhile. |
| háa kúbaruuji...'ánde G 3.4 | So that the news be known. |

238] 4.33 Description of the Tense-Aspect-Voice suffixes

4.331 Tense and Negation: Past has no overt marker where the other tenses do. We shall call this a zero marker. Past indicates a time previous to the time of the story. It is often used in narration.

{-i} marks the (past) active.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-káyni jíire MS 91.5 | They saw the gopher. (from folklore) |
| mi-jíppi Gáanda M 175.4 | I stopped at Gaanda. (from a narration) |

-ake past emphatic

| | |
|---|---|
| dóoŋgal-ma wúurake M 22.12 | Your load is off balance. |
| kúuje-boo mbáagake haa-dáada MS 108.5 | The things were piled up at mother. (Mother had a lot of things) |

-aama past passive

| | |
|---|---|
| Mujáddadíijo tókkàama M 9.14 | The great prophet has been followed. |

239] {-at-} marks the future in both the positive and negative series of all moods. It is the future of the context and not necessarily that of the present. The quality of the vowel becomes the same as that of the following vowel so that the following morphemes occur:

| | Active | Emphatic | Passive |
|---|---|---|---|
| Positive | -ata | -otoo | -ete |
| | at-am/-et-e | ([-am/-e] are 1st and 2nd person object pronouns, see 176-184) | |
| | at-aa/-et-en/-oot-on ([-aa/-en/-on] are inverted pronouns, see 175). | | |
| Negative | -atáa | -atáako | -atáake |

All these forms can occur without the initial vowel following the full forms of extensions (see 71).

hákkilanta, jípporto, néldirte

wúrtintaa, náwlirtáako. (no example for the negative passive)

Otherwise the only other changes occur in the active positive forms. It is most commonly found as -an in Adamawa Fulani.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-hóotan MS 67.1 | I will go home. |
| mi-sáa'an-ŋgal MS 97.2 | I will fry it. (folklore) |

However, the statement of the various forms can be given in terms of the phonological or syntactical environment.

240] -ata occurs:

1) When the verb phrase is nominalized (except in case of first person singular subject) or when no- precedes the verb phrase.

| | |
|---|---|
| wálaa ko-mbaɗan-mi MS 80.2 | There is nothing I can do. |
| wálaa ko-'o-wáɗata ND 88.8 | There is nothing he can do. |
| wálaa ko-ɓe-mbáɗata MS 93.4 | There is nothing they can do. |
| no-min-ndéfrata... MA 105.5 | How we cook... |
| mín[in] bee-ko-núman-mi. | Me with what I think, |
| 'áan bee-ko-númat-aa. | you with what you think, |
| dáada-am bee-ko-númata. MS 63.7 | my mother with what she thinks. |

2) When a clause with a question intonation has as the first element an interrogative pronoun (see 207) or ko-.

| | |
|---|---|
| ko-'on-hókkata-mmi? ND 88.2 | What will you give me? |
| ɗúme dímbata-ɗo? MS 57.2 | What is moving here? |
| móy nyáamata kóndoŋ-'am-ɗo? MS 104.6 | Who eats my bananas here? |
| mo-ɗóftata-mo? MS 60.4 | Who will see him off? |
| to-'o-wáalata? MS 62.8 | Where will he sleep? |
| nóy 'en-kísrata hákkeeji? M 1.20 | How will we escape sin? |

3) When there is an emphatic subject pronoun without a following non-emphatic subject pronoun.

| | |
|---|---|
| mín fúɗɗata' MS 92.7 | I will start. |

4) When the object, or another item which normally occurs after the verb is in pre-verb emphatic position.

| | |
|---|---|
| mín ɓe-mbárata MS 77.8 | It is me they will kill. |

| | |
|---|---|
| ládde 'o-nyìɓata MS 64.1 | in the woods he will build |
| kóobi ɗum-tàppata MS 107.4 | roan antelope it will strike |

Some of the -ata forms will be understood as progressives, as is likely when one translates from a system with two time divisions to one with more than two.

| | |
|---|---|
| kúuje mèeɗen ɗé-ɗo wóodi ko-hòo'ata. MS 107.5 | Something is taking our things. |
| móy nyàamata kóndoŋ-'am ɗo? MS 104.6 | Who is eating my bananas? |
| wóodi hùunde wárata haa-ládde -ɗo MS 96.6 | There is something coming into these woods. |

241] ata > ad/aɗ before voiced labial and alveolar stops, i.e. the consonant of the future tense morpheme is voiced before the voiced stops b, d, ɓ, ɗ and also glottalized before ɓ and ɗ. This assimilation is optional.[1] See also 92.

| | |
|---|---|
| dókkaɗɗo | M |
| 'o-héɓad-boo | M |
| wáɗanàɗɓe | M |
| wárad dága | M |

242] Elsewhere ata > an

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-yáhan-na? MA 144.7 | Will you go? |
| 'o-nyáaman láw MS 103.7 | He will eat quickly. |

{-otoo} positive future, emphatic

| | |
|---|---|
| 'e-nóy 'yákkortoo-ɗaa?[2] Ma 2.2 | And how are you eaten? |

---

[1] The speech of some Adamawa speakers shows this rather consistently, for some it is variable and for others it does not occur. Note also 'o-réggad láamɗo MS 103.2

[2] Although other long vowels are long in this position, the long o is usually shortened before {-ɗaa}.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-wáali haa-láawol Háwsa'en cáalortoo. MS 55.8 | He slept on the road where the Hausa were to pass. |
| 'o-'ándaa no-'o-dó"ortoo G 7.8 | He doesn't know how he will fall. |

{-etee} positive future, passive (only 14 examples)

| | |
|---|---|
| no-kúbaruuji-man néldirtee G 3.6 | How the news will be sent. |

Fulani future carries no idea of completion and hence must often be translated by an habitual form in English.

| | |
|---|---|
| jíddere ví'etee súudu wáynaaɓe MS 102.2 | A garbage pile is called the house of shepherds. |

The differentiation of meaning is usually clear from the context or from the verb roots used.

| | |
|---|---|
| mbáretèeɗo MS 2.13 | one who is to be killed |
| 'ínnetèeɗo M 4.27 | one who is named |

243] *ɗo*- marks the continuative tense. The action expressed by the verb is looked upon as continuous rather than having a beginning or end.

244] *ɗo*-...-*a*/-*o*/-*e*[1] The *continuative progressive* is a very commonly used form. It indicates that the action is in progress at the time of the context.

*ɗo*- + -*a* active progressive

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-*ɗo*ŋgóok*a* ɓe-*ɗo*'íllin*a* MS 73.1 | They are crying, they are ululating. |
| mi-*ɗo*táal*a* Dumo Héco MS 92.6 | I am telling the story of Dumo Hecho. |

---

[1] -*a*, -*o*, -*e* are the voice morphemes, see 231.

ɗo- + -o emphatic progressive

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe ɗokúnoro M 13.8 | They were taking an oath. |
| 'en-ɗosálo M 3.8 | We are refusing. |

ɗo + -e passive progressive

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ɓon máa ɗotókka; ɗoréwa ɗotórrore, ŋgam-máako M 9.22 | Even that one is following, is worshipping, is taking a beating because of him. |

245] ɗo-...-i The continuative durative indicates that the situation is a lasting one.

| | |
|---|---|
| sáriya ɗoréeni-en M 181.6 | Judgment is waiting for us. |
| 'o-ɗojóoɗi MA 128.6 | He was sitting. |
| mi-ɗowáali nonnón AB 122.1 | I am just lying here. (sick man) |

## 246] Negative suffixes

Only the past and future tenses can be negated. The negative morpheme {-áa-} follows the zero past or the future morpheme and precedes the voice position. The negative morpheme is here listed together with the pertinent tense and voice morphemes.

| | Active | Emphatic | Passive |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negative Past | -áayi | -áaki | -áaka |
| Negative Future | -atáa | -atáako | -atáake |

{-áayi} marks the past-negative-active.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-hébàayi ko-mi-nyáama AB 1.1 | I didn't get anything to eat. |
| mi-yímanan-mo-nde, to-'Álla jáɓi mi-máayàayi MS 67.5 | I will sing it for him, if God will, and I haven't died. |

(past in relation to the main verb)

{-áayi} > -áa after the verb roots {'ánd- yíɗ- wál- wóod-}

| | |
|---|---|
| to-kílbu wóodaa[1]... MA 105.2 | If there is no potash... |

---

[1] Phonetically short here, see paragraph 75.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-yáhàayi | I did not go. |

It may also apply to a near future when the idea is that 'up to now I hadn't intended to go.' But for the most part the division is clear to Westerners.

-atáa marks the future negative

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-húuwataa DG 54.3 | She will not work. |
| 'a-héptataa MS 70.4 | You will not find. |

-áaki past, negative, emphatic

Indicates that the import of the action is dramatic.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-síwtàaki sám làw mbí'-aa mi-jíppo? MS 84.3 | I haven't rested at all, then you say I should get off? |
| jòoɗáaki (Conversation) | did not sit (and so avoided a conflict) |

-atáako future, negative, emphatic

| | |
|---|---|
| wáɗatáako MS 99.1 | can't be done |
| mi-nyúkkatáako MS 62.7 | I will not hide (although not to hide endangers her life). |

-áaka past, negative, passive

| | |
|---|---|
| júulde-boo júulàaka ND 4.8 | The feast was not held. |
| púccu-ma hírsàaka ND 1.14 | Your horse has not been killed. (by throat cutting) |

-atáake future, negative, passive (only 5 examples)

| | |
|---|---|
| góoŋga jáɓatàake, séy to-dúuri M Proverb | Truth is not accepted until it has been around a while. |
| wálaa...nde-ɗe-nyáamatàake ɗe-njáratàake. G 4.5 | There is no time when it is not eaten or drunk. |

There is both a positive and a negative series of tense markers. However, aspect markers do not have a negative series. The imperatives and subjunctives can be negated by the use of táa, tó, tóoto, etc (see 279).

| | |
|---|---|
| táa ɓíŋgel-am défa MS 58.4 | My child mustn't cook. (subjunctive) |
| táa méemee MS 88.7 | Don't touch. (Imperative) |

247] 4.332 Aspect: -a/-o/-e mark the subjunctive aspect. The subjunctive form is used in subordinate subjunctive clauses introduced by sákko, ndíkka, séy, ngam-, háa, etc., (see 316, 317, 319, 321).

-a active subjunctive

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-wáawataa háa mi-yéjjita. Ibr 52.6 | I am not able that I forget. |
| ɓíŋgel-go-boo nyáama, háa háara MS 55.5 | That child would eat until he was full. |

-o emphatic subjunctive

| | |
|---|---|
| séy 'o-dáro, ŋgám 'o-hísna ɓáali máako. M 12.8 | He should stop and save his sheep. |
| mi-síwtàaki sám làw mbí'-aa mi-jíppo? MS 84.3 | I have not rested at all, now you say I should get off? |

-e passive subjunctive (only 17 examples)

| | |
|---|---|
| káayeefi jónta...ɓúri ko-wólwe MS 82.4 | This miracle surpasses what one could say. |
| háani hánde kála ko-húuwtinir-ɗen ...fúu, ɗum-wínde ɗum-'ánde G 1.5 | It is appropriate that all we have done, should be written and made known. |

The subjunctive is also used in descriptive narrative, where it indicates what one would normally do.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɗáada máako wádda kúuje MS 55.1 | Her mother would bring things. |
| ɓéye ŋgára, 'éma, 'o-háɗa MS 58.3 | Those would come, ask, and she would refuse. |

248] -u -ee The imperative aspect forms indicate a command, an entreaty, an exhortation, or an emphasis.

2nd Singular

| | |
|---|---|
| hóosu hóore MS 94.2 | Take the head! |
| díllu MS 82.2 | Go away! |
| lóru MS 107.8 | Go back! |

After some verb roots (notably wár-) the singular emphatic form is dropped.

| | |
|---|---|
| wár fístu-min MS 94.4 | Come free us. |

2nd Plural

| | |
|---|---|
| ndóondee kúsel-mon MS 94.7 | Carry your meat. |
| njéhee yéeso MS 91.5 | Go ahead. |
| njóoɗee MA 93.4 | Sit down. |

1st Plural

| | |
|---|---|
| 'en-ndíllu MS 99.8 | Let's go. |
| 'en-mbáalu AB 4.23 | Let's lie down. |

The singular 1st and 3rd person imperative form usually indicates emphasis.[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| ko-wáddu-maa MS 62.3 | What on earth brought you. |
| mi-wáru MS 21.2 | I have come. |
| mi-támmu no-ɓe-'áccan. MS 74.7 | I thought they would leave it. |

249] -ii...-na indicates a polite request[2]

| | |
|---|---|
| 'éwníi rawáandu máaɗa-man min-ndáara-na? MS 60.6 | Can you please call that dog so we can see? |
| wárií-na? MS 95.3 | Please come! |
| 'en-ndíllíi-na MS 94.1 | Should we go? |

250] -ma marks the optative aspect. I do not have enough examples of this morpheme to establish definitively what it is or what it may signify. It seems to be used as an optative.

---

[1] cf. 'Álla vállu-'en... Kano 124.8 Imperative is used as a cover term for all areas of meaning included in these morphemes.

[2] But compare láarií-lee ɓándu-'am MA 128.7

| | |
|---|---|
| ndíllenma MS 58.10 | Let's go away. |
| njémma > (yah-en-ma) MS 61.7 | Let's go. |
| túubenma M 20.7 | Let's submit. |
| 'a-wárma Conversation | (It is our hope) you will come. |

251] 4.333 Pre-time suffix -noo:

The suffix -noo is an optional element that is related to the tense system and can best be described in relation to that system. -noo occurs as the last element of the tense-voice suffixes but in the continuative it occurs after ɗo-. When used, it indicates that the action of the verb was terminated previous to the time indicated by the regular tense suffix. It indicates that something intervened.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-víi-maa | I told you. |
| mi-víi-noo-maa ND 1.14 | I told you before. (to do so-and-so and you didn't do it) |
| náane-kam 'o-támmi-noo súley bee-síisi AB 11.3 | Before she had thought a shilling and a half. (She thought she would have been given 1-1/2 shillings but it didn't materialize) |
| 'o-ɗó-noo jóoɗo dow-háyre MS 97.4 | He had been sitting on a rock. (and would still have been, but...) |
| 'o-dílli haa-wúro-ŋgo'o 'o-yahan -noo M 21.2 | He went to the town where he had been planning to go. (he had intended to go earlier, but...) |

252] 4.4 Infinitives

Infinitives are formed from verb stems plus the voice suffix plus -go (see 230). There is an infinitive for each voice.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| hókkugo | to give | active voice |
| jóoɗaago | to sit | emphatic voice |
| yáaɓeego | to be stepped on | passive voice |

| | |
|---|---|
| ko-támmi wárugo... M 180.6 | What is about to come... |
| ko-támmi láataago... M 181.3 | What is about to happen... |
| mi-yíɗaa yáaɓeego víco. Ma 3.3 | I don't want my tail to be stepped on. |

Infinitives function in three ways: as a modifier in a verb phrase (see 352), as a relator of clauses (see 329) and as nominals (see 96 and 341). In an examination of 81 infinitives, it was found that 42 modified a verb phrase core, 32 modified related clauses and seven acted as nominals.

# CHAPTER 5 NON-INFLECTED PARTS OF SPEECH[1]

## 253] 5.1 Introduction

As the only parts of speech that are inflected are verbals and nominals, this chapter includes all the other parts of speech. A few nouns which are normally non-inflected (see 95) in the singular are included in the chapter on nouns because they are inflected in the plural and because they fill the same positions as inflected nouns. Conversely a few words which are normally non-inflected (such as time words) are included in this chapter because they are only rarely inflected and because they do not fill all the same positions in clause structure as do nominals.

## 254] 5.2 Adverbs

Adverbs are words which modify inflected verbs and nominals derived from adjective or verb stems. Most adverbs follow the word they modify and may be divided into two types: ideophonic and non-ideophonic adverbs.

### 255] 5.21 Ideophones

Ideophones comprise the majority of adverbs. The phonology of ideophones is quite distinct from that of other parts of speech (see 31-38) in that most of them may occur with emphatic stress and have a restricted phonemic system.

The use of ideophones varies greatly from speaker to speaker and from one style to another within the same idiolect. Some ideophones are, however, in common use:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ndíyam ránwi tál! | MS 71.1 | The water whitened real white! |
| dáneejum tál | M 172.2 | a DUM white as snow! |
| háa háca dús | MA 111.7 | until [it] smells badly |

---

[1] Many parts of this chapter are from Stennes 1961.

| | |
|---|---|
| lékki-man bóɗeejum cóy AB 121.5 | The medicine [was] bright red. |
| mi-wári haa-yímɓe-'am káp. M 182.7 | I came straight to my people. |
| 'o-hóoti wúro káp. MS 95.8 | He went straight home. |
| ndíyam ɓálwi ku*rum! MS 71.1 | The water blackened pitch black. |
| súudu-ndu ɓáleeru ku*rum! DY 13.12 | This house [is] black as coal! |
| dáayiɗum masín. ND 90.2 | Very very far. |
| ŋgésa ɗúuɗi masín MA 116.7 | (a very large field) |
| mi-'ándaa-noo hábaru 'Iísa sám. M 172.2 | I did not know about Jesus at all then. |
| débbo-go 'úmmi láw[1] MS 81.3 | The women arose quickly. |

Some ideophones are reduplicated from a one-syllable ideophone, while others appear only as reduplicated or partially reduplicated forms.

| | |
|---|---|
| ndíllir-aa-mi lawláw MS 65.7 | Take me quickly! |
| nònnón 'o-ɓólwi cululululululút MS 58.6 | Thus she melted culululululut. |

256] 5.22 Non-ideophonic adverbs

Non-ideophonic adverbs do not occur with emphatic stress and their phonology is usually not different from that of other words. However the non-ideophonic adverb -le occurs with high pitch. -le only occurs after imperatives and subjunctives.

| | |
|---|---|
| méemu-le AB 9.6 | Touch (Go ahead and touch it!) |
| 'áan fúɗɗu-le MS 92.7 | You start then (You go ahead and start) |
| ɓe-jó"ina fahín MA 112.1 | They would set [it] down again. |

---

[1] See 32. When láw precedes the clause, it functions to relate clauses.

láw ndèn báaba dílli jáhaaŋgal MS 70.1

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-wáraay *táwon* M 20.3 | He hasn't come yet. |
| ŋga-jéeɗi *séesi* MS 62.6 | It got real quiet. |
| néeɓi *séɗɗa* AB 4.18 | lasted a little |

### 257] 5.3 *Expletives*

Expletives are words used to call attention to something or to give a response.

### 258] 5.31 Expletives of attention

Expletives of attention are used to call the attention of a person to something and usually precede a statement. *ndáa* is the most common of these words.

| | |
|---|---|
| ndáa ko-mbi'ot-on M 178.3 | Here [is] what you will say. |
| ndáa kósŋgal-am MA 141.3 | Here [is] my little foot. |
| ndáa mi-náni M 17.20 | Well I heard. |
| ndáa-mo Ibr T 22 | There he [is]. |
| ndáa ndíyam tímmi-? sémbe-'am tímmi. MA 119.5 | Look, the water is gone, [and] my strength is gone. |
| 'úseni wúrtin-am MS 57.2 | Please get me out! |
| 'úseni wáay. MS 57.4 | Please, pal! |
| hákiika mín mi-málaa'ikáajo M 4.4 | Truly *I* [am] an angel. |
| gáafara-mon MS 96.7 | Pardon, you (Pardon me). |

259] *yáa* indicates that the speaker is politely making a serious request (usually addressing a superior) or that he is stating a fact that has serious consequences for the one speaking or the one addressed. This is often said by a person to God:

| | |
|---|---|
| yáa 'Álla, Báabiraawo 'ámin... M 5.6 | Oh God, our Father... |

The ground squirrel was in potential trouble with the crocodile:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-víi yáa báppanyo-'am MS 65.4 | He said: "Oh my uncle" |

The goat being alone with the camel in the bush, heard a hyena howling in the distance:

| | |
|---|---|
| mbéewa vii yáa ŋgéelooba, jónta-kam to-'en-kóotataa wúro-kam, vá"in-am dow-ɓáawo màaɗa mi-wáala. AB 4.21 | The goat said, "Oh camel, now if we don't go back to town, [please] put me on your back so I can sleep." |

If the request is in the nature of a wish or is a statement of fact which is not very serious, yáa will not be used. Compare the two following quotations:

| | |
|---|---|
| yáa jáma'áare-'am, túubee M 17.22 | Oh my people, repent. |
| tóó jáma'aare-'am 'Álmasìihu 'Iisa waɗi balndol... M 12.1 | Now my people, Christ Jesus did a parable... |

Compare AB 4.21 above with the first request of the goat (given below) while he was still confident the camel would obey him:

| | |
|---|---|
| mbéewa...vii ŋgeelooba 'en-kóotu wúro. AB 4.16 | The goat said, "Camel, let's go back to town." |

The following is a wish rather than a request:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'Álla, hísnu-'en; nyálaade máajum. M 7.19 | May God save us that day! |

In contrast héy (héey) indicates the speaker is demanding something:

| | |
|---|---|
| héy 'áan! MS 91.8 | Hey you! |
| héy 'a-défataa-na débbo. MS 97.2 | Hey, aren't you going to cook, woman! |

To a servant:

| | |
|---|---|
| Héey páho, dárnu jiire'... MS 65.8 | Oh deaf one, stop the ground squirrel! |

260] sánnu indicates that the speaker wishes to converse with the person addressed.

| | |
|---|---|
| sánnu móoɗon. MS 91.2 | Greetings to you! |
| sánnu sóobaajo. MS 99.8 | Greetings friends! |
| sánnu débbo(-'am.) MS 99.5 | Greetings (my) woman! |

### 261] 5.32 Expletives of response

These are used in response to another person's question, statement or action and indicate the attitude of the person responding. Negative and positive response words come as a reaction to the truthfulness or non-truthfulness of the basic statement behind the question. The most common positive response is 'óoho (see footnote to paragraph 24), '[illegible] or 'íihi (with high pitch) are used by some speakers, and there are other variants.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-víi-yam 'áan wóni | He said [to] me: "Are you |
| Máalam Márkus Muhámmadu-na? | Maalam M. M. ?" |
| mbíi-mi 'óoho M 174.7 | I said: "Yes." |
| wóodaa Fulɓe dey. | There are no Fulani, are there? |
| mbíi-mi 'óoho. M 174.2 | I said: "Yes [there are no<br>Fulani]." |
| 'a-hóotan? 'óoho AB 5.9 | You're going home? Yes. |
| 'áawdi fóllere? LS | Red sorrel seeds? |
| mḿhm. MA 111.7 | Yes. |

262] The negative response 'áa'a also occurs in slightly variant forms:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-'ústantaa-mo sám-na? | Won't you cut off a little for him? |
| 'o-víi 'áa'a. ND 86.6 | He said: "No." |
| 'eléwre-ma na-ɗúuɗi? | Your cunning is plentiful, yes? |
| 'aá'a. MS 57.2 | No. |

263] káy is a response word indicating unfavorable reaction. Variant forms are káyto and káyya.

| | |
|---|---|
| wár fístam. | Come and free me. |
| fówru víi $\overset{*}{\text{kay}}$! MS 94.5 | The hyena said, "Phooey." |
| káy, ...ɗóc-kam mi-nánaay | My, ...I was not at all |
| belɗum maajum $\overset{*}{\text{sam}}$. M 179.4 | pleased with that! |
| 'o-víi-mo káyya sóobaajo. | He said [to] him: "Well now, |
| MA 138.5 | friend."[How come you haven't...] |

A werewolf changed form.

| | |
|---|---|
| The response: káyto! MA 129.4 | Oh!!! Get a load of that!! |

264] 'asée indicates surprise and doubt.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'asée nélɓi fúu wólwan dú? | Well, now I guess the ebony tree |
| MS 82.3 | does talk? |
| 'asée 'a-ɓúrat-am féwre. | I am surprised that you surpass me |
| AB 10.14 | in lying. |

265] 'áyye indicates a complaint of a difficult situation.

Samonaggel heard the news of the death of the king:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sámonággel násti wóokugo'. | Samonaggel started to cry: |
| 'áyye sóobaajo-'am, MA 142.3 | "Oh my friend." |

Father had an incorrigible son:

| | |
|---|---|
| Báaba víi 'áyye 'Álla-'am | Father said: "Oh my God." |
| MS 103.8 | |

266] bìsimílla may indicate that the speaker is not enthusiastic about another's proposal, yet feels that he has no choice but to accept it.

A ground squirrel proposed to a bush cow that they should both break through a baobab tree. The bush cow replied:

| | |
|---|---|
| bìsim'illa 'en-yáarto. MS 75.8 | O.K. then let's dash through. |

láa'illaa is sometimes used to indicate a miraculous surprise (MS 76.6).

267] náa'am indicates the speaker is present.

| | |
|---|---|
| túmmode? naa'am MS 66.8 | Calabash? Here [I am]. |
| Báaba Fáalama. náa'am. MS 92.2 | Father Faalama? Here [I am]. |

yówwa expresses a pleasant reaction of praise.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-víi-mo yówwa, 'a-ándi háala. MS 58.9 | He told him, "Congratulations, you know what to do." |

híi with ingressive lung air expresses surprise on hearing very bad news.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-víi híi ɓérnde màako tá'i 'o-máayi... MA 125.8 | She said "hii," her heart failed [then] she died. |
| híi 'o-nyáami MS 62.6 | Hii, it ate [her step mother]. |

### 268] 5.33 Formulaic Words

Formulaic words are words which are sometimes meaningful but do not fit into any regular group of inflected or non-inflected words. They are related to the expletives in the sense that they may be used in calling attention to something or in response to a situation but different in that they often have a different phonological shape. They may be magic words like mátubeléwɓasa a word used to awaken people from unconsciousness or nonsense song words like kérna kérnáaŋgoyoŋ MS 97.7

### 269] 5.4 Time words

These refer to time, are not usually inflected, and usually fill a particular position in the clause (see 359, 369). Some time words may be inflected with the derivational suffixes of the nominal system.

| | |
|---|---|
| jémmaare hánde máa-? M 11.7 | The night of today-- |
| káŋko mári (mo)...jémmaare máajum. MS 96.1 | He had her that night. |

There are two kinds of time words: those referring to specific time and those referring to non-specific time.

### 270] 5.41 Specific time words

Examples of time words referring to specific time are:

jonta 'now' occurs freely in either pre-verb phrase or post-verb phrase position without apparent difference in emphasis.

| | |
|---|---|
| jónta ndíkka 'en-kóota wúro. AB 4.18 | Now better we return [to] the village. |
| ɗe-ɗombáali jónta. M 172.5 | They are inactive now. |
| kánjum ɗón háa-nder ɓérnde-'am háa jónta. M 173.5 | That is in my heart until now. |

hánde 'today' occurs in both pre-VP and post-VP position, but when in pre-VP position it has emphatic implications.

| | |
|---|---|
| hánde 'o-wàrata. MS 202.5 | Today he is coming. |
| 'o-ɗowára hánde. MS 202.5 | He is coming today. |

Some speakers use hánde as a transition word which carries little or no semantic reference. This can only be seen by examining a whole discourse.

jáŋgo 'tomorrow' is emphasized when it is in pre-verb phrase position and no other function word intervenes. It occurs in post-verb phrase position and in pre-verb phrase position with a following function word.

| | |
|---|---|
| jáŋgo 'o-wàrata háa máayo-ŋgo. MS 202.4 | Tomorrow he will arrive at this river. |
| 'o-támmi wàrgo jáŋgo MS 202.5 | He hopes to come tomorrow. |
| jáŋgo-kam báaba-mon fíntan MS 63.3 | Tomorrow your father will awaken. |

jáŋgo can be the subject of a verb phrase:

| | |
|---|---|
| jáŋgo ɓúri ɓàdáago. Proverb | Tomorrow is nearer. |

271] *jémma* 'night' often appears as the subject of a verb phrase:

| | |
|---|---|
| jémma wáɗi MS 81.3 | Night came |
| jémma jéŋgi MS 101.4 | Night deepened. (It was past bedtime) |

*jémma* may be collocated with other words in a nominal grouping.

| | |
|---|---|
| wáali jémma ɗíɗi. MS 73.4 | Slept two nights. |
| bee-jémma mi-nómi bána nfi. MA 145.5 | At night I thought this way. |
| 'o-dílla cáka jémma. Ma 2.9 | He would go [in the] middle [of the] night. |

*jémma* occurs in a pre-verb phrase position more often than in a post-verb phrase position.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-hóoti jémma... MA 144.3 | I went home [at] night. |
| jémma láando wári MS 102.4 | At night the chief came. |

*fájiri* 'morning' and *kíikide* 'evening' are emphatic when in pre-verb phrase position.

| | |
|---|---|
| fájiri làando 'ènata-mo... MS 64.6 | [In the] morning the chief asks him... |
| jáŋgo fájiri mi-dowára M 178.8 | Tomorrow morning I am coming. |
| Kúmbo fíni fájiri... MS 81.8 | Kumbo awoke [in the] morning. |
| 'o-wári kíikide AB 121.2 | He came [in the] evening. |

Examples of other time words referring to a specific time are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *híkka*-kam 'a-tóotan G 158.1 | This year you will vomit. |
| *háŋki* ɓánɗu-'am náawi ɓúri *hèsiháŋki*. M | Last night my body ached more [than the] night before. |
| fówru...hóotan *ɓáɗɗol*. Proverb | The hyena will go home before dawn. |

272] The following is a list of some of the most commonly used specific time words:

Years:

| | |
|---|---|
| ndúuɓu (pl) duuɓi | A year |

| | |
|---|---|
| rówtani | Year before last |
| rówani | Last year |
| híkka | This year |
| máwri | Next year |
| máwriti | Year after next |

Seasons:

| | | Approximate European months |
|---|---|---|
| céeɗu | the hot season | March--April |
| ndúŋgu | the rainy season | June--September |
| dábbunde | the dry season | October--February |

Months:

| | |
|---|---|
| léwru-lébbi | month, months |

The Muhammadan months[1]: Haaram, Sendaandu Haaram, Haaram Miiraawo, Banjaaru Arandu, Banjaaru Tumbiindu, Banjaaru Gaginiindu, Suumateendu Waawɓe, Wayrordu Suumaye, Suumaye, Juuldaandu, Siwtoraandu, Laytaaji.

However, the use of the European system is also common. The pronunciation of these months generally approximates the French system.

The days of the week:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'Álat | Sunday |
| 'Áltine | Monday |
| Sálaasa | Tuesday |
| 'Alarba | Wednesday |
| 'Álhamiisa | Thursday |
| Júmɓaare/Máwnde | Friday |
| 'Ásave | Saturday |
| 'Ásaveere | Week |
| 'Ásaveeje | Weeks |

Days:

| | |
|---|---|
| nyálawma, nyánde,<br>nyalaade, nyálde | day |
| hésitikéenya | day before the day before yesterday |

---

[1] From Taylor 1953, page 116.

| | |
|---|---|
| hésikéenya | day before yesterday |
| kéenya | yesterday |
| hánde | today |
| jáŋgo | tomorrow |
| fáɓɓijáŋgo | day after tomorrow |
| fáɓɓitijáŋgo | day after the day after tomorrow |

Times of the day:

| | |
|---|---|
| fájiri | morning |
| kíikiɗe | evening |
| náaŋge | day |
| jémma | night |

Many specific time words can be repeated.

| | |
|---|---|
| jónta jónta ɗoláara 'í'an ND 90.7 | Immediately [one] sees blood. |
| [ɓe-]...kóoci wúro jémma jémma MB 64.4 | They went home [during the] night. |

They can be connected with a linking word.

| | |
|---|---|
| jémma bee-nyàlawma ɓe-ŋgìllata-mo'. MB 109.1 | Night and day they visit him. |

## 273) 5.42 Time words referring to non-specific time

These words are neither as numerous nor as commonly used as those referring to a specific time.

*náane* 'before, in the past' occurs before or after a verb phrase. When it precedes the verb phrase it is usually followed by *-kam* or *-boo*.

| | |
|---|---|
| náane-kam 'o-támmi-noo síley... AB 11.3 | Before she had thought [she would get] a shilling... |

In all the examples I have of *náane* following a verb phrase, that verb phrase is part of a nominalised clause.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-siftori ko-'o-húuwan-noo náane G 159.4 | She remembered what she had done before. |

náane may modify nominals:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɗéfte méeɗen náane M 171.8 | Books ours of old (our former books) |

náane may follow a preposition:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-hóosa láral 'o-hádda bána náane MA 132.5 | He would take skin and wear [it] as before. |

ɓóoyma refers to remote past:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-táwi púccu máako hìrsáama ɓóoyma. ND 2.8 | He found [that] his horse was killed a long time ago. |
| 'o-jóoɗi bána ɓóoyma MA 138.6 | He sat as before. |

Other non-specific time words are:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-ŋgári rágare G 151.2 | They came lastly. |
| sáa'i 'en-ndányi ɓiɓɓe... M 1.5 | When we bore children |
| ɓiŋŋel-kam yi'i yáake ɗúujiire násta'. AB 12.7 | The child saw when the owl entered. |

274] 5.5 Interrogatives

5.51 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogatives related to the nominal system are discussed in the chapter on nominals (see 207 and 209). Note that in addition to the interrogatives for each class, there are also other interrogative pronouns. These generally precede the thing queried.

275] móy (variant mo-) is a personal subject interrogative pronoun used in reference to what is assumed to be a person.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'áan móy? MB 67.3 | You who? (Who are you?) |
| móy défi? MB 102.6 | Who cooked? |

tóy (variants tóye, to-) is an interrogative locative pronoun.

| | |
|---|---|
| tóy ɓiŋŋel-maa? MB 202.7 | Where is your child? |
| to-sáare máako? MB 193.5 | Where is his home? |

| | |
|---|---|
| 'áan mbáal-aa haa-tóy MS 36.8 | You you would sleep where?<br>(And where would you sleep?) |

nóy (variants nóye, no-) is an interrogative manner pronoun.

| | |
|---|---|
| nóy? MS T-20 | What? |
| nóy wáɗi? MS 62.9 | What happened? |
| nóy nóy min-ndémnata? MS 55.6 | How are we to be circumcized? |
| no-'índe máaji? M 184.7 | What is their name? |

ndéy is an interrogative time pronoun.

| | |
|---|---|
| ndéy 'ékkitinan-maa-mi? AB 10.14 | When will I teach you? |
| ndéy nástot-on? MS 55.7 | When will you enter? |

### 276] 5.52 Interrogative markers

The following interrogative markers are non-inflected.

-na- is the most commonly used of these markers. When -na- follows the statement queried, the inquirer is seeking an answer follows the statement queried, the inquirer is seeking an answer which may be negative or positive. It is accompanied by a question intonation.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'áan wóni Máalam Márkus Muhámmadu-na? M 174.7 | Are you Mallum Markus Muhammadu? |
| mín-na? MS 202.7 | Me? (Who me?) |
| 'a-júulataa-na? MS 59.10 | Don't you pray? |
| 'a-yáhan-na? MA 144.7 | Will you go? |

When -na- precedes the statement queried, the speaker is expecting that the answer will be positive if the statement is positive and negative if it is negative.

| | |
|---|---|
| na-ɓúri yiite? M 185.2 | Surpass fire--yes?<br>(Doesn't it surpass fire?) |
| ɗóo-kam na-jínni? MS 59.5 | That [is] done-yes?<br>(Aren't we finished?) |
| na-yáhataa? M 173.2 | Won't do--no?<br>(That won't do, will it?) |

However, if the -na-precedes a statement and is not accompanied by a rising intonation, the speaker will not expect a response, although the statement may be questionable.

| | |
|---|---|
| na-mín-kam mi-nánáay ko-mbíi-ɗaa-mi AB 6.25 | Now as for me, I didn't hear what you told me. (Did I hear what you told me?) |
| na-'áan 'ón véelo náawata. AB 2.15 | Now aren't you the one who will be hungry. |

kóo may be used as an interrogative.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-wárta sáare, 'a-nyáama béldum kóo? M cc | You would come home [and] eat sweet stuff, or? |
| kánjum wóni ɗémŋgal. Kóo? M 185.1 | That is the tongue? or? (or isn't it) |

kóni is used as an interrogative to ask the reason for a statement. It must be accompanied by rising intonation.

| | |
|---|---|
| kóni 'a-wárataa jónta? MA 144.7 | Why don't you come now? |
| kóni 'áan fówru? MB 57.6 | Why [that] you hyena? |

## 277] 5.6 Locatives

Locative words signify a place or location in relation to the speaker.

do (variants dón, dó'o, dondón) signifies that the action or focus of attention is near.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-wári dó... MA 129.6 | You came here... |
| náa dó ɓe-nél'en M 173.3 | Not here they sent us |
| háa dó'o M 183.8 | Right here |
| ɗondón táw-nOO-mi'. MA 129.3 | Here is where I found it. |

The variant dón may indicate that the story is taking place somewhere else than where the speaker is. We would translate this dón by 'there'.

| | |
|---|---|
| ndu-wári háa dón AB 1.22 | It arrived there. |

| | |
|---|---|
| ŋgám kúuje násta ɗón MS 57.1 | So that things could enter there. |

tó (variants tón, tontón) signifies that the focus of attention is far from the speaker or action.

| | |
|---|---|
| ŋgáal jóoɗi tó, ŋgáal jóoɗi ɗó MS 77.6 | It sat there, it sat here. (One was over there, the other here.) |
| wálaa jáhanɗo tón. MS 186.4 | No one goes there. |
| 'o-jóoɗi háa-tón. MA 129.6 | She stayed over there. |
| mbár-aa-mo tontón. MS 62.9 | You kill him right there. |

278] Some locative prepositional forms when stressed are locative words.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-wári cáka ND 85.5 | They came [in] the middle. |
| 'o-sáali háa-nder. MS 96.1 | He entered right inside. |
| mi-wáaloy yáasi. MS 36.8 | I'll sleep outside there. |
| ɗi-njéhi yéeso, M 12.14 | They went [on] ahead. |
| dáñyaaɗo ɓáawo 'ándi Báyŋga'en. M 172.7 | One born after [he] knows the Baynga people. |
| 'áan wáandu wáɗ dów mi-wáɗa lés. MS 84.4 | You monkey go up I go down. |

yáasi is more often used as a locative than as a preposition.

## 279] 5.7 Negatives

Apart from the negative tenses (see 246) there are negative particles. As can be seen in paragraph 230 there are negative suffixes only for the past and future tenses. However, the subjunctive and imperatives are negated by the particle táa (ta-, táata, etc.) preceding the verb.

With imperative singular:

| | |
|---|---|
| ndúŋgu náa ŋgu-máaɗa - to--'a-héɓi báatal táa yówu. (Proverb) | The rainy season is not yours-If you get a needle don't break it. |

With imperative plural:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓíkkoy-'am táa kúltoree.<br>AB 11.17 | My children, don't fear. |

With active subjunctive:

| | |
|---|---|
| táa 'a-yéjjita-ɓe... Ibr 52.6 | Don't you forget them... |
| to-'on-kúla ɓíɓɓe 'Áadama...<br>M 17.1 | Don't you fear people... |

With emphatic subjunctive:

| | |
|---|---|
| tóoto 'on-láato yóolo'iiɓe<br>M 18.13 | Don't you become the perishing people. |

náa is used to negate constructions without a verb. Naa precedes that which is negated.

| | |
|---|---|
| náa háá-'am déy AB 8.2 | Not with me hey!<br>(You're not doing that to me!) |
| ɓe-ɗón nder-jókkirgol<br>náa ŋgéewta-kam. G 6.6 | They are in a fight<br>not [in a] conversation. |
| to-náa nón... M f | If not so...(If it isn't so...) |
| náa mín. | Not me. |

## 280] 5.8 Relators

Relators are words that relate words and larger units to one another.

### 5.81 Nominal relators

5.811 Locative prepositions are used to relate the location of the nominal to the action spoken of.

cáka indicates that the focus of the subject of the relating verb is in the midst of the following object(s).

| | |
|---|---|
| les-yóŋki dow-yóŋki cáka<br>dábare'. MA 143.8 | Under life over life in the midst of strategy. |
| mo-ɓúri móne cáka máɓɓe?<br>MS 93.6 | Who surpasses [in] annoyance among them?<br>(Which of them had the hardest time?) |

| | |
|---|---|
| cáka jémma, góɗɗo wári...<br>M 174.1 | [In the] middle [of] the night someone came... |

The addition of cák emphasizes cáka.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-njéhi cáka cák ládde.<br>MS 61.6-7 | They went right [in the] middle [of] the bush. |

281] hákkunde indicates that the focus of the subject of the relating verb is amongst the people mentioned.

| | |
|---|---|
| wáancu hákkunde 'ámin. MS 2.18 | Walk amongst us. |
| nyíɓre wáɗan hákkunde meeɗen.<br>M 180.1 | Darkness will come between us. |
| sóobaaku jóɗɗi hákkunde máako bee-láamiiɗo-go.<br>MS 64.8 | The friendship remained between him and that chief. |

282] dow- indicates that the focus of the subject of the relating verb is on top of or above the object which follows.

| | |
|---|---|
| vá"in-am dow-ɓáawo máaɗa...<br>AB 4.20 | Put me on your back! |
| wállini dow-dáŋgo móuɗum.<br>MS 186.7 | laid [her] on his thigh |
| 'o-dó"i dow-lábbo-go MS 105.2 | He fell on that spear. |

dow- may be used figuratively.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-ɓúri vóoɗugo? dow-vóoɗugo máako náane-ɗo. DG 54.7 | She surpassed [in] goodness over her goodness [of] before. (She was now prettier than she had ever been.) |

283] les- indicates that the focus of the subject of the relating verb is below the following object.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-síwti les-lékki níi.<br>MS 99.4 | He rested under a tree. |

| | |
|---|---|
| háa les-máage M 176.3 | Under it (cow). |
| 'o-ándi fakát haa-les-kákkara-ɗo 'ón ɓíŋgel mȁako dóggi násti... Ibr 53.6 | She knew for a fact that under the crate here her child ran [and] entered... |

284] yéeso indicates that the focus of the subject of the relatin verb is before or in front of the following object.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-dírsini haa-yéeso láamɗo MA 131.7-8 | He stopped short in front of the chief. |
| 'o-wáddi haa-yéeso báaba mȁako MS 56.6 | He brought [it] before his father. |
| hofáago yéeso máaɗa dúm vélan-mi. MS 68.1 | To kneel before you that will please me. |

285] ɓáawo indicates that the focus of the subject is located af or behind the following object.

| | |
|---|---|
| jiire...wártoy ɓáawo máaru... AB 7.12 | The ground squirrel...came out there behind it [crocodile]. |
| hábiiru dón ɓáawo súudu... TT 113.1 | A cucumber is behind the house... |

ɓáawo may be used in the abstract.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓáawo máajum, góddo...wári... M 173.4 | After that, someone came. |

286] dága (díga)[1] indicates the provenience of the subject from the location in the following object. This contrasts with háa which indicates direction to.

| | |
|---|---|
| ...dága Mbúm háa Jóyla. MS 36.7 | From Mbum to Joyla. |

---

[1] About 20 per cent of my Adamawa samples, and about 65 per cent of my non-Adamawa samples are díga.

Provenience from a place is shown by the following examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-yáari wólde 'Álla dága... Lárɓak M 182.7 | I took the word of God from Larɓak. |
| kóŋgol 'íwi díga 'Álla. M 18.22 | The word came from God. |
| rawáandu láddе-go 'ómmi díga dáayiɗum...Ibr 53.1 | That lion started out from afar... |

dága is used to introduce a list of objects:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-méedi dága báaliije-? ná'i? bé'i-?...MS 63.1 | He drove sheep, cattle, goats,... |

dága also shows provenience from time.

| | |
|---|---|
| dága náane MS 97.3 | from of old |
| dága kéenya...'en-ɗokáɓa... MS 60.2 | From yesterday we are fighting. (We've been fighting since yesterday). |

287] nder- indicates that the focus of the subject is 'into' or 'within' a position in the following object.

| | |
|---|---|
| débbo-'am dóggi tíkkere nder-ŋgáska MA 143.2 | My wife ran angry into the hole. |
| mi-jóoda nder-bírniwol. ND 88.6 | That I sit in the town. |
| ...ɗó"i...nder-tírɓu'. MS 84.1 | fell into the mud |

nder- may be used with abstract nouns.

| | |
|---|---|
| nder-mínti jówi pát 'o-sópta-ɗum. ND 89.3 | Within five minutes he should pick them all up! |
| njéhee nder-'ánnoora'. M 179.7 | Walk in the light! |

288] yáasi indicates that the focus of the subject is located outside the following object. yáasi is usually used as a locative (see 278).

| | |
|---|---|
| ...yaasi suudu woodaay... Taylor 1932 p. 229 | ...the outside of the house is bad... |

289] 'e- indicates that the focus of the subject is towards or with the following object.

| | |
|---|---|
| wárɓe 'e-'ám ŋgam-láara-ɗmi. AB 122.3 | Those who come to me to see me. |
| ...háwta 'e-máɓɓe'. Ma 1.7-9 | ...would gather with them. |
| ...cáwel 'e-júŋŋgel MA 133.7 | ...a small cane in the small hand. |

290] haa[1] (har) indicates that the focus is toward or in a location.

| | |
|---|---|
| min-ŋgárti Dúmle haa-léydi Yáŋŋguru', M 174.1 | We returned [to] Dumle in the country [of] Yanguru. |
| ɓe-mbínda háa déftere M 182.3 | that they write in the book |
| moɗɗari yéhi haa-kíla'. MS 101.4 | The python went to the smith. |
| mi-yéhi háa máako',...M 179.1 | I went to him (I went to his place). |

When háa introduces time words or phrases it is not locative but temporal and indicates duration.

| | |
|---|---|
| háa jónta débbo-'am ɓéenkay. M 176.6 | Until now my wife has not had her baby. |
| Jáwmiraawo hókkan-mo háyru-man hár 'ábadá 'ábadíin. M 178.1 | The Lord will give him that blessing forever. |
| ...wáala háa bálte', ND 87.1 | would sleep until ten A.M. |

291] hómbi indicates near proximity to the following object (see háaye in 292)

| | |
|---|---|
| mbárooga-go dowdanca hómbi wúro... MS 55.6 | That lion was strolling alongside the village... |
| dáada máako ɓíl-noo kákkara féere haa-hómbi súudu... Ibr 55.2 | Her mother had hung a certain crate near the house. |

---

[1] The locative haa is sometimes stressed and sometimes not, while the temporal háa is always stressed.

| | |
|---|---|
| ...pát dombáali kómbi yíite-go. MS 58.6 | ...all was lying near that fire. |

292] bányo indicates proximity to the following object but not as near as kómbi (see above).

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-jóodi haa-bányo yíite'. | He sat by the fire. |
| ...?.'o-hóo'i kúsel-go 'o-wáddi haa-yíite'... 'o-hóo'i júŋgo góddo-go-boo 'o-wállini kómbi yíite'. MS 64.3 | He took that meat [and] brought [it] to the fire. He took the hand of that man also, [and] laid [it] alongside the fire. |
| 'o-sótti bányo báaba máako... MS 104.4 | He left the side of his father. (he left home) |

293] gáda indicates that the focus of the location is being transferred to the other side of the object following gáda.

| | |
|---|---|
| ...ɓe-njéhi gáda máayo-go... MS 65.2 | ...they went across that river... |
| ...ɓe-njéhi gáda wúro. MS 109.5 | ...they went to the other side of town (away from town) |

294] gal- indicates a general direction.

| | |
|---|---|
| hóo'i júŋgo góddo-go wúdini gal-dákkowol. MS 64.4 | Took the hand [of] that man, threw it in the direction of the fence. |

295] wóyla indicates a northerly direction, fóombina a southerly direction, fúunaaŋge an easterly direction and híirnaaŋge a westerly direction.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-'yóomi dága wóyla Díikowa. Ma 1.22-25 | He came from north [of] Dikoa. |
| ...hóoseere dón híirnaaŋge 'ámin. M 173.4 | ...the mountain is [to the] west [of] us. |

296] Combinations of different prepositions are often found. The material at hand does not permit a detailed examination of these, but it might be useful to try to analyze some common ones. It is no doubt significant that of about 70 samples, 60 have *haa* (*faa*) as the first preposition, nine have *dága* (*díga*) as the first, and two have *'e*. On the other hand, nine different prepositions may occupy the second position.

The following examples could at first lead one to consider that *haa*, *háa-nder* and *nder* are synonymous:

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo ndáaree háa-nder 'Álkura'áani, nder-Nísay, 'áaya 168... M 13.1 | Well, look in the Koran, in Nisai verse 168... |
| tóo mállum'en, ndáaree, nder-'Álkura'áani Nísay...M 3.23 | Now priests, look, in the Koran, [in] Nisai... |
| ndáaree haa-'Álkura'áani ko-vínda-noo... M 16.18 | Look to the Koran what is written long ago... |

But a closer examination of more cases results in the following suggestions:

a) *haa* points toward, in a general way.

b) *nder* points to a specific unit within a larger unit.

c) *háa-nder* is more specific than (a) but less so than (b).

| | |
|---|---|
| númooji haa-ɓérnde 'íwata. M 21.6 | Thoughts from the heart come. |

The following is a specific prayer for specific hearts:

| | |
|---|---|
| háala màaɗa yéyna nder-ɓérɗe 'àmin. M 5.18 | May your truth shine in our hearts. |
| 'áa'a, kéefeeráku, ɗón háa--nder ɓérnde. M 9.26 | No, heathendom is in the heart. |

One can find many cases where *háa-nder* might be construed as specific, but in each of these examples that is not the point that is being made at the time.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-víi bísimílla, 'en-yáh, ɓe-ndilli haa-láɗɗe. AB 1.9 | He said O.K. let's go: they went to the woods. |
| ɓe-njéhi ɓe-táwi, kúsoy láɗɗe-boo, ɗon-ŋgóola haa-ŋgóolirde háa-nder láɗɗe. AB 1.10 | They went, they found small game were salt-licking at the salt lick in the woods. |
| 'o-dári kádi haa-ndíyam... MA 125.2 | She stood by the water. |
| gilaŋgéeru ɗón nder-ndíyam AB 5.8 | The crocodile is in the water. |
| ɓe-násti ndíyam ɓe-ɗon'éera háa-nder ndíyam. AB 10.8 | They entered the water, they are crossing the water (river). |
| víi ɓe-ŋgára níi ɓe-yéha ɓe-róonda yéerima haa-súudu... N 3.21 | He said they should come, they should go [and] carry the prince to the house. |
| 'a-nyáway, máayde wára hóoca néɗɗo ɗów; kóo lékki kóo 'e-ŋgésa kóo nder-súudu. DY 18.24 | You'll get sick, death comes, takes a person on a tree, or in the field, or inside the house. |
| góɗɗo 'ácci ŋgúyka, ŋgám to-yáŋgite, háa-nder, súudu nyíɓre wóndu nder-dúni-yáaru. M 16.4 | A person leaves off stealing, because not to suffer, in the dark house which is in the world. (Some people quit stealing so as not to be put into a dark prison in this world.) |

Indications are that haa before other prepositions also tends to make the combination less specific.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'áljanna-boo, náa ka-Fir-dóosi, wáato 'Aljanna ŋgón-ka haa-yéeso 'Álla. M 15.12 | Paradise then, is not Firdoosi. but it is the Paradise that is before God. |
| ɓíŋgel-go víi-mo 'óoho, mi-náni lámyam háa-dow ɗóo. AB 10.10 | The child said [to] him, "Yes, I feel saltiness up here." |

| | |
|---|---|
| ndén, jiire táari ndi wási wási wási, yéhi wírtoy háa ɓáawo ndaru ɗilli... AB 7.12 | Then the ground squirrel circled thus, dug, dug, dug, went, came out behind it, [and] got away... |
| 'o-ɓóllwi 'o-pát háa-les yiite. MS 58.7 | She melted completely underneath the fire. |

The above example has reference to a creature made of fat. Melting fat obviously cannot be contained in a very specific place on a more or less flat floor.

'e also makes the combination less specific.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-yíɗi wáɗugo kúuɗe kálludum 'e-yéeso láamiiɗo-na? DY 14.6 | Do you want to do evil works before the king? |

This does not mean in the king's immediate presence (which would be unthinkable,) but that the king's presence is everywhere.

297] 5.812 Non-locative prepositions serve to indicate relationships between the subject and the nominal which the preposition precedes.

bee- indicates that the subject is associated with or participates in the nominal which follows.

| | |
|---|---|
| fówru bee-sfiwo vii... MS 108.2 | The hyena with the leopard said... |
| ɓe-njókki débbo bee-ɓiŋgel. MS 71.5 | They caught up to the woman with the child. |
| góoŋga gónduka bee-méeden. M 179.7 | The truth that is with us. |
| séndir bee-seydáanu M 9.2 | Split with the devil! |

bee- also indicates that the following nominal is the instrument of the previous verbal.

| | |
|---|---|
| débbo-'am lórti bee-párgal... M 177.1 | My wife came back with speed... |
| no-mbi'ot-on bee-fúlfulde? M 171.6 | How would you say [it] in Fulani? |
| táa ɓe-mbára-mo bee-mbárugo'. MS 76.6 | They should not kill him by killing (murder). |

298] bána (ban-, bam-) precedes nominals and other words and indicates that the following word or phrase is in some way similar to or near the one compared. It is not used to equate two nominals.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-máayad bána máako... M 177.8 | I will die like him... |
| ...háa wáɗi bána njámdi sáppo 'e-gó'o. ND 3.9 | ...until it was about eleven o'clock |
| ...ɗojóoɗi bána óocyma. MA 138.6 | ...was sitting as before. |
| ...wáɗi bána réeta kílométir'. M 176.2 | ...made about a half a kilometer. |
| kánjum bána wiigo yíite. M 171.8 | That [is] like saying fire. |
| 'en-'ándin-ɗe, bána no-'en-'ándinira... M 180.6 | Let's teach it, like we were taught... |

299] séy indicates that of two or more possibilities the thing following séy is the actual choice.

| | |
|---|---|
| séy jáŋgo. MS 95.3 | Until tomorrow. |
| 'o-'éernidi ŋgórgi'en máako-go pat! Látti séy fíɗoowo-go. ND 90.5 | He ferried all his peers. Remained only that sharpshooter. |
| wóodaa laamɗo...fóti hóocugo-mo. Séy min. Ma 118.6 | There is no chief capable of taking her. Only me. |

300] kóo precedes nominals and indicates an upper limit if the statement is positive and a lower limit if the statement is negative.

| | |
|---|---|
| sóoynde wáɗugo réwɓe, kóo ɗiɗi. M 23.9 | The lack of having wives, even two. |
| kóo ɗúme bee-hákke múuɗum, háa-nder dúniyáaru. M 1.5 | Whatever with its sin, in the world. |

| | |
|---|---|
| kóo báatal ɓe-ŋgállaa. MS 66.3 | Even a needle they did not own. |
| búubi ŋgárkay kóo góotel. MS 93.8 | Flies did not come, [not] even one. |

301] *ŋgam-* indicates the reason for the core statement in the part that follows *ŋgam*.

| | |
|---|---|
| dága náane náa ŋgam-débbo 'o yáhaa-noo. MS 110.5 | From way back, [it was] because of the woman he had gone. |
| 'óo yilla ŋgam-máada-? MS 110.2 | He would visit because [of] you. |
| 'a-hókka yóŋki máada-? ŋgam-hákkeeji 'ámin. M 181.8 | You should give your life because [of] our sins. |

302] **báakin indicates that the core statement is related to the nominal following báakin in an approximation.**

| | |
|---|---|
| to-'a-jóodi báakin be-wádata mínti 5... BD 88.8 | **If you stay approximately what would make 5 minutes...** |
| 'énen-boo 'ánnoora ɗowónti bee-méeɗen báakin séeda. M 179.6 | **[With] us too, the light is remaining with us for a while.** |
| mi-wóodi dérke'en-boo báakin 6. M 178.2 | **I have young men also, about six.** |

### 303] 5.813 Nominal connectors

Nominals may be connected equally by the use of *kóo* or *'e-*.

| | |
|---|---|
| kóo máayugo-? kóo láahira-? mi-'ándaa. AB 121.7 | Whether death or heaven, I do not know. |
| 'o-wáddana-mmi kósam 'e-ndíyam... MS 92.3 | ...That she bring me milk and water... |
| ...débbo 'e-górko...MS 80.1 | woman and man |
| ...sáppo 'e-ɗíɗi... G 153.8 | ...ten and two... |

304] 5.02 Words and clitics relating different units of discourse

Until the structures of Fulani discourse and its levels have been better described, the description of the relating words can only be tentative. However, even at this stage in Fulani studies, one can see that function words operate on different levels and that their functions overlap.

305] 5.021 Relators of various levels

-boo may relate any two units of speech at any level. -boo indicates that the unit now beginning is related to the preceding unit.

| | |
|---|---|
| mín, bólwanɗóo-'on bólle ɗó'e, 'ásli-'am fúu mi-púllo, púllo-boo mi-lé'i ɗíɗi. M 10.9 | I, who am speaking these words to you, my whole race is Fulani, a Fulani then, I (have) am of two tribes. |
| ...ŋgam-káŋko lóttiɗi púccu. ndáa-ɗo, káŋko-boo 'oɗón bee-sáɗawre. ND 4.10 | ...because he was left with a horse. Then too, he also, he has leprosy. |

Mallum Abaayi has just told one story and now begins another, (-boo here refers to the previous discourse). In so doing he is reminding the audience that this story is of the same variety as the one told previously.

| | |
|---|---|
| kíccawol-ŋgol-boo, fówru wáadi bee-yéendu. AB 3.1 | This story also, (about how) the hyena became enemies with the anteater. |
| 'Alla ɗókkuɗo-'en hánde hókkan-'en jáŋgo-boo. M 22.17 | God who gives us today will give us tomorrow also. |
| 'o-wáati 'ánsooji máako. 'o-wúrti háa 'o-dilla kádi páaɓahoj-boo ɗón haa-kéesi... AB 10.18 | She put on her ansooji. She went out to go away. There [were] also paaɓahoi on her hips...(ansooji and paaɓahoi are comparable terms). |

A new section of discourse may be related to a previous one by the use of -boo:

| | |
|---|---|
| wóodi góɗɗo fécre-boo...M | There is another man also... |

It may connect a series of clauses:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'óo yíilla ŋgam-ɗébbo-ma,<br>'óo yíilla ŋgam-máaɗa,<br>'óo-boo yíilla ŋgam-nyíiri.<br>MB T-23 | He would visit because [of] your wife, he would visit because [of] you, and he would visit because [of] food. |

306] máa occurs finally after a word or larger unit and modifies the preceding to mean 'even so-and-so.' It is accompanied by a serial intonation pattern. Another word or larger unit complements the máa construction.

| | |
|---|---|
| tóro máa-? dakkérr AB 11.3 | Even threepence was difficult [to get] (to say nothing about sixpence). |
| to-góɗɗo yíɗi máa-? háarna báskooje-man nbonnón. MA 105.6 | If one wanted even, he could make soup with okra-that alone. (If one would want to, he could make soup by only adding okra.) |
| to-'a-'áawi bóoɗɗum máa-? kánjum 'a-sódata. M 16.20 | If you plant good [seeds] then, that [is what] you will reap. |
| nyámaande mi-tókkata-maa máa-? mi-'ácci-nde. AB 4.23 | The loan I follow you then -- I leave it. (I'll even forget about the money you owe me.) |

307] nfi relates the preceding word or larger unit to (a) something that has been recently stated, (b) that which is described by gesture or (c) that which can be expected from what has been stated. When initial in a clause it refers to a preceding larger unit of discourse or to the entire discourse.

After a story has been told:

| | |
|---|---|
| nfi ɓe-njóodi tálakáaku jíinniri haa-máɓe. MS 108.6 | That is how they lived, [and how] poverty ended with them. |
| nfi ggol-tímmiri'. MS 93.6 | That is how it ended. |

In a story about a child capable of performing superhuman feats at birth:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ámmaa dárnde pétel nfi. MS 107.3 | But height small thus. (But he was as small as one would expect of any child. |

With the following kind of explanation one would expect a gesture to show size:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-mbádana-mo tís nfi... MS 80.6 | They would make for him a little bit so... |
| ...'a-tékkatáako. | You don't get fat. |
| ko-fóynata-maa nfi... MS 80.6 | What makes you thin like that? |

308] Some speakers seem to use nón for nfi in some contexts: Compare MS 108.6 in 307 with the following where the speaker is also summing up what has been explained:

| | |
|---|---|
| nón mi-fúddi nánugo háɓaru 'Iisa'. M 171.6 | That is how I started to hear the story of Jesus. |

However, while it relates things as nfi does, nón also implies a contrast or comparison. Thus in example M 171.6 the speaker is indicating that it could have been otherwise, while nfi in example MS 108.6 does not bring out this possibility (although it could as well have been said).

| | |
|---|---|
| bána no-cóomru-mi nfi to-'áan sómi nón 'a-dímban-na? MS 84.2-3 | As I have gotten tired so, if you got tired like that would you move? |
| ɓe-vfi-mo móy vfi-maa nón. MS 96.3 | They said [to] him, "Who told you that?" |

nón is used with the negative.

| | |
|---|---|
| nda nón ełna. MS 64.6 | But so, surely. |

nónnón is more often used than nón with little apparent difference.

| | |
|---|---|
| léddi-dó pát 'ówaana góotel wílan. Nónnón ɗémgal-ŋgal-boo. M 105.3 | All this country one match will burn. So also [with] this tongue. |

The storyteller has told one story about a man and his wife and now begins to tell a similar one.

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo, 'ón-boo nónnón lee- ɗóbbo mhudum. MS 63.5 | Well, he too in the same way with his wife. |

309] 5.822 In addition to -boo there are two other words that can relate discourses.

tóo and yóo indicate a change of topic and can readily open a new discourse, but they are not limited to discourse transition. tóo (yóo) indicates a change of topic if it is the same speaker who continues, or it implies a change of speaker who takes up the subject of the first speaker, i.e. the second speaker continues along the same line of thought as the first speaker. Change of topic may merely mean the discussing of different facets of the same problem, or continuing the argument from a point that is considered made or generally held.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-mbí'i-mo min-nánaay. tóo, nántee bóoɗɗum. MS 57.7 | They told him, "We didn't hear." Oh, listen good. |

M and his wife had just finished a song:

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo jáma'aare-'am, nánee, kóŋgol, ŋgol-'Alla. M 18.17 | Well, my people, hear the word, that [of] God. |

MS begins a new story:

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo, táalel táalel. MS 36.6 | Well, [here is] a fairy tale. |

The following example comes from the middle of a story, but where there is a shift of subject matter.

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo, ɗum-fúɗɗi mántugo', ... Ibr 52.10 | Well then, it started to act boastfully .. |

The crocodile suspected the ground squirrel of stealing his eggs and asked the ground squirrel to bring him the eggs so he could see them. The squirrel did so, but kept bringing back the one remaining egg, marking it with a different color each time. When he had done this the required number of times:

| | |
|---|---|
| ...gilaŋgéeru láari, vii yóo, mi-támmi jónta-kam déne-'am ɗoŋgóndi. AB 6.5 | The crocodile looked [and] said "Well, I think now then my eggs are here together." |

310] 5.823 There are many words which indicate a transition from one part of a discourse to another. These cues vary from speaker to speaker and from one discourse to the next. The range of words or combinations of words is rather limited so that the signals are clear. The words described below are used in this function although they are also used to relate smaller units.

311] 'ámmaa indicates a contrast between two independent clauses or larger units. It is normally the first word of a clause unless preceded by 'e.

| | |
|---|---|
| ndén, ndu-wári ndu-vîi yáare, mi-heɓáay ko-mi nyáama. 'ámmaa 'áan-boo ɓe-ɗombî'e, 'a-tási mbákka'. AB 1.3 | Then, it came, it said [to] the scorpion, I did not get what I eat. But you, so they say [of] you, you get food. |
| mi-'ándi ɗi-ɗón háa 'am. 'ámmaa mi-hákkilanáay-ɗi... M 185.5 | I know they are with me. But I have not watched them... |

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-hókket-e ɓiŋgel-'am. 'ámmaa táa ɓiŋgel-'am défa, táa ɓiŋgel-'am wúrta haa-náaŋge. MS 58.4 | I will give you my daughter. But my daughter mustn't cook, my daughter mustn't go out into the sun. |

312] wáato indicates that the following explanation elucidates the previous word or larger unit.

| | |
|---|---|
| ámmaa to-'on-tóubi; 'on--njáɓani-mo, wáato 'on--njáɓi kóŋgol 'Álla. M 13.18 | But if you confess, [if] you accept him, that is to say, you accept the word [of] God. |
| patáwsi ɗúme ɗó? wáato'-? súuno fówru-? M 179.2 | What is patáwsi? That is, to look [for] wealth. |

The following wáato introduces a statement clarifying a vague introduction to a story:

| | |
|---|---|
| wáato'-? súuno fówru-? etc. etc. MS 83.8 | That is, the desire of the hyena was... |

313] ndén indicates that the clause or other unit following it is sequential to the previous action. See text A in the appendix for use of ndén as a marker for discourse units.

| | |
|---|---|
| nde-hiiri, ndén mbéewa náni, fówru wóyi... AB 4.15 | When it was late, then the goat heard the hyena cry... |
| séy to-'a-tókki 'Iisa 'Álmasiihu, ɓiɗɗo 'Álla. ndén 'a-héɓan 'úmmuŋgal 'árandewal,... M 8.13 | Only if you follow Jesus Christ the Son of God; then you will get the first resurrection. |
| ɓe-ŋgári ɓe-táari súudu-? ndén kádi, gújjo-go, séeki... ND 90.4 | They came, they surrounded the house; then that thief broke... |

314] 5.824 Some words normally relate clauses or lower level units.

*kádi* indicates reference to a previous action. This may be the second or more of a series of actions. *kádi* may come first in a clause, or second after another function word; it may follow the verb or it may occur final in a clause. The action of the *kádi* clause or unit usually indicates controversy or futility.

| | |
|---|---|
| nde-hiiri 'o-yíɗi díllugo | When it was late she wanted to |
| jeréeji. 'o-wáati 'ánsooji | go [to] the playhouses. She |
| máako. 'o-wúrti háa | put on her *ansooji*. She went |
| 'o-dílla kádi. AB 10.19 | out in order to go then. |

The above story later points out how useless it was for her to do this. The following example shows a transition from one controversial point to another.

| | |
|---|---|
| kánjum wáɗata-mmi káyeefi | That's what does me amazement |
| háa-nder móodiɓɓe. kádi | among the priests. Then you |
| 'on-mbí'i... M 14.25 | say... |

One animal was trying to frighten another away by saying that if he opened his eyes the other would die:

| | |
|---|---|
| to-mi-máɓɓiti mi-yí'ma | If I open [my eyes] I will show |
| kádi-'on hábaru. MS 1.6 | you then something. |

315] *málla* indicates an equal possibility between two clauses or smaller units.

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo nii, 'émtooɓe-maa | If so, your questioners [should] |
| ŋgári. Málla kálmautu'en | come, or the Kalmautu'en if |
| to-ɓe-ŋgári... M 17.10 | they [should] come... |
| búmɗo-na málla páho? MS 65.6 | The blind man or the deaf one? |

316] *sákko* (*sákkonta*) indicates that if the first statement is true, the second is even more likely to be true. *sákko* is normally followed by the subjunctive form of the verb.

| | |
|---|---|
| wóodaa fúlɓe máa sákko lúumo waɗa'. M 175.4 | There are no Fulani even, much less a market. |
| 'o-yíɗaa-kam-kam sákko 'o-yíɗa yóŋki-'am. MS 110.5 | He doesn't want me, much less does he want my life. |
| 'áan máa 'a-tíjjan sákkonta mi-tíjja-na? MS 59.7 | Even you, you will look up [are yet to look up] why should I look up? |

317] ndíkka relates clauses and phrases and indicates the preferable action. The non-preferable action(s) may not be stated. If ndíkka is preceded by a vocative, the person mentioned is shown by the following statement to be the speaker's preference. ndíkka is followed by the subjunctive form of the verb. In the following examples the vocative forms are underlined.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-ví'a 'áyye 'Álla-'am. ɓíŋgel-'am ŋgel 'Álla, yámɗitin-am-ŋgel níi, ndíkka mín 'ón mi-máaya. AB 12.3 | She would say, "Oh my God, this my child, God, heal it thus, better I be-the-one I die." |
| 'Álla-'am ndíkka mín mi-máaya ɓíŋgel-'am-ŋgel yéeɗa. AB 12.5 | My God, better I, I die, this my child live. |
| ndíkka mi-ɓádita bána níi. M 173.7 | Better I come close like that. |

If ndíkka is preceded by the negative or an expression of disapproval this indicates opposition to the previous proposal and the following statement will again indicate the speaker's preference.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'áy, ndíkka mbár-en-mo ɓúri. DY 5.6 | Oh, better we kill him better. (...we'd be better off killing him.) |

In the above, ɓúri re-echoes ndíkka and indicates that it is better than some other choice.

| | |
|---|---|
| káy, ndíkka mi-yéha mín. MA 125.3 | Oh! Better I, I go. |
| 'áa'a, ndíkka mi-'í'a bee-kósŋgal. AB 2.5 | No, better I press with [my] foot. |

If ndíkka is preceded by a time position the indication is that the statement which follows is preferable for the time mentioned.

| | |
|---|---|
| jónta ndíkka 'en-kóota wúro. AB 4.18 | Now better we go back [to] town. |
| hánde ndíkka kúl-aa 'Álla sósay. DY 6.19 | Today better you fear God indeed. |

318] -kam follows a word or larger unit and indicates that this unit is open to question. It is often followed by an explanation.

| | |
|---|---|
| ndén-kam, 'en-mbáɗan háaje. ND 4.19 | Then [if the previous statement is so] we will do business. |
| náane-kam 'o-támmi-noo súley bee-síisi. AB 11.3 | Before he had thought one shilling sixpence. |
| jáŋgo-kam mi-méetataa yáago. AB 11.13 | Tomorrow I will never go. |
| ndén-kam lágawal-man fíɗataa bóoɗɗum... AB 2.6 | Then the bow will not shoot good... |
| ndóttiijo-kam ɗoróondo yíite... AB 8.22 | An old man does carry fire. |
| 'Íisa-kam ɗíɗo-na? kóo góoto? M 10.16 | Jesus, is he two or one? |
| bee-kíne-kam mi-wáawataa. AB 2.14 | With [my] nose, I cannot. |
| nóy-kam ? 'áan ndóondotoo-ɗaa yíite níi dow-hóore máaɗa... AB 9.3 | What? You who carry fire thus on your head... |
| 'ám-kam 'en-téeran. ND 3.5 | [As for] me, we will marry. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Sámbo ládde víi mín-kam bee-lékki-'am. Ma 4.6 | Sambo of the woods said, I with my medicine. |
| mi-láari ndée-kam. AB 5.23 | I saw that. |
| to-'on-náni bána níi-kam kúltoree... AB 11.9 | If you hear thus then fear... |

319] séy introducing a clause with the verbal in the subjunctive indicates an extreme necessity or inevitability of reaching a specific goal. From the examples given it will be evident that the clause related to the sey clause is not always contiguous to it. In a sermon by Doogon Yaaro the question is posed that if the sun should fall on the earth, who could stand? The reply:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'e-fúu mén séy kálk-en. DY 3.3 | All [of] us surely we would perish. |
| céede ɗe-kéɓ-mi-ɗe, wálaa ko-mbáɗan-mi', séy mi-ɓáŋga débbo féere'. MS 80.2 | This money I have gotten, there is nothing that I will do, but marry another woman. |

The lion had made a mistake in eating the hyena skin, so the owner of the skin said to him:

| | |
|---|---|
| kádi na-séy 'a-héɓa láral fówru... AB 8.2 | Well now you must get [me] a hyena skin... |
| séy 'en-mbí'a nònnón. M 9.29 | We'll have to admit it. |

The pretty woman is willing to marry the man only if he promises to kill his horse, but he keeps putting this off until one day he says:

| | |
|---|---|
| nyánde níi mi-háɓɓani-maa mi-ɓáŋgi-maa, 'a-wári 'a-násti sáare-'am, séy mi-hírsana-maa púccu-man. ND 1.9 | The day I marry you, I take you, you come, you enter my home, indeed I will kill [for] you that horse. |
| séy 'o-dáro, ŋgam 'o-hísna báali màako. M 12.8 | He must stand firm, in order to save his sheep. |

320] sḗy introducing a clause with the verbal in the past tense or relative future indicates that of two or more possibilities this is what actually occurs.

Abaayi tells of a man who was looking for at least sixpence but:

| | |
|---|---|
| séy koɓóore wóore 'o-héɓi haa-jíiba... AB 11.10 | Only one penny he found in pocket... |
| wálaa ko-wáɗa, séy ko-'o-wáɗi. M 18.23 | Nothing is made, but what he (God) made [it]. |

A pretty woman was looking over a wide area for a certain prince whom she had never seen and with only one clue to identify him. She interviewed many men in vain until one day in a far away land:

| | |
|---|---|
| séy yéerimaajo wárani-mo ND 2.21 | Then the prince came to her. |

jáwleeji are guest houses, and guests are expected to stay there, but the bride-to-be said to the prince:

| | |
|---|---|
| kála jáwleeji máaji pát séy súkaaɓe-'am-ɗo wáalata tón. ND 3.5 | [In] every one [of] these guest houses only these young men servants [of] mine shall sleep. |

The following two examples are given to show the contrast between the two types of séy clauses described above.

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-tókki-mo-boo. | I followed him also. |
| 'áan-boo, séy 'a-núma; M 11.1 | You too you'd better think. |
| ɓe-ŋgáaji-'am, séy mi-númi háa-nder ɓérnde-'am, M 10.13 | They preached [to] me, then I pondered it in my heart. |

321] ngam introducing a clause with the verb in the subjunctive or infinitive indicates that the action of the main clause is done to bring about the action of the subordinate ngam clause. ngam also introduces other units with the same meaning. The reply to 'Why did you do that?' could be ngam-jáŋgo 'For a rainy day.'

| | |
|---|---|
| wárɓe-'e-'am ŋgám láara-mmi. AB 122.3 | Those who come to me to see me. |
| mbéewa-'am kírsu-mi ŋgam-háa mi-séndira', yíɗɓe-'am bee-wányɓe-'am. MS 110.1 | My goat I butchered, so that I could divide those who like me from those who hate me. |
| 'Álla núlaay ɓíɗɗo múuɗum nder-dúniyáaru, ŋgám 'o-híito-ndu. M 19.17 | God did not send his Son into the world so he judge it. (...in order to judge it.) |

A very hungry hyena had no success in finding food but heard that the scorpion had a good reputation as a food gatherer so asked it:

| | |
|---|---|
| kádi mi-yíɗi 'a-fíɗana-mmi kúsel, ŋgam-háa mi-héɓa mi-nyáama... AB 1.5 | So I want you [to] kill me some meat, so that I can get I eat... (so I can get something to eat) |
| góɗɗo 'ácci wáɗgo mbàrhóore, ŋgám to-yáŋgitee háa-nder dúniyaaru. M 16.4 | Some [people] leave off murder, in order to avoid being penalized in the world. |

322] ŋgam- introduces explanatory clauses. The reason for, or explanation of, the action of the main clause is given in the ŋgam-clause, while the verb of the subordinate ŋgam- clause may exhibit any tense ending except the subjunctive or infinitive.

Abaayi tells of the hyena that desired to eat the anteater but was afraid it might have as vicious-looking teeth as it had claws, so the hyena tried to incite the anteater by asking some questions. One was: "Give us some teeth to chew."
The response:

| | |
|---|---|
| yéendu fóŋgini, ŋgam-'ándi wálaa nyí'e. AB 3.7 | The anteater scowled, because he knew [he had] no teeth. |

After killing her husband, the prince, his wife turned the horses of the town loose and left, later resting in a nearby village:

| | |
|---|---|
| yóo, 'ártuɗo yóttugo séy káygama-boo ŋgam-káŋko lúttidi púccu. ND 4.8 | Now the first one to get there was Kaygama because he was the one left with a horse. |

| | |
|---|---|
| táaskee, ndéenee, wálaa jémma, wálaa náaŋge ŋgám-'on-'ándaa nyénde ŋgáran-mi. M 3.8 | Prepare, wait, no night, no day, because you do not know the day I will come.<br>(Be ready and waiting, not just by night or by day...) |
| ndáa ŋgam-hákkeeji máako 'o-máayata. ŋgám mo-gújjo, DY 6.6 | It's because of his sins he dies, because he is a thief. |
| 'Álla láarataa njúutirka, máaɗa. ŋgam-káŋko 'ón tágu-maa. DY 2.5 | God does not regard your height, because he has made you. |

323] to- introduces the conditional clause which, with the verb in any tense other than the subjunctive or imperative, indicates that if the condition of this subordinate clause is met, the statement of the main clause will apply.

In contrasting the good shepherd to the hireling (John 10) Markus states:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ámmaa jáwmu báali, to-'o -láari sáafaali ŋgári, 'o -dóggataa. M 12.5 | But the owner of the sheep, if he sees wolves coming, he does not run. |

Mallum Abaayi tells a story of a liar who became ill and called in his liar friend to give a final request:

| | |
|---|---|
| ndáa ɓíŋgel-'am ŋgéel, 'úseni, to-mi-máayi níi-'ékkitin-aa-ŋgel féwre AB 10.3 | Here [is] my child this; please, if I die thus teach him lie[s]. |
| to-'en-kákkilanaay-ɗi-? 'en-kálkan. M 185.4 | If we do not watch them, we will perish. |

The prince had promised to kill his horse as a condition for marrying his girl friend but:

| | |
|---|---|
| Yéerima, núma, to-'o-wúrti 'o-hírsan púccu, to-'o-wári 'o-yáaɓi héebeere 'o-wá"i 'e-púccu máako-go-? 'o-yéjjita háala débbo-go-boo fáhin. ND 1.7 | The prince would think, [then] if he went out to kill the horse, if he came and stepped into the stirrup, he mounted his horse, he would forget about that girl friend again. |

The king's daughter had been bitten by a snake:

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo, to-'a-yámɗitinani-yam ɓiŋgel-ɗam-ɗo mi-hókk-e-mo té'aari mi-séekan-e lésdi -'am-ɗo-boo már-aa Ma 4.7 | Now, if you heal for me my child here I will give you her [in] marriage, I will apportion to you my country here also you will own. (I will give you a part of my kingdom to own.) |
| to-mi-lórtake mi-yóɓet-e. M 21.1 | When I return I will pay you. |
| to-'a-víɗi ndéen-aa Ndéentindeléŋ'. MS 94.5 | If you like you could wait [for] Ndeentindeleŋ. |

324] háa is used as a purpose introducer. háa introducing subordinate clauses with the verb in the subjunctive indicates that the action of the main clause or idea is done to permit or to bring about the action of the háa clause.

| | |
|---|---|
| no-mbáɗet-en 'eklésiya, háa 'en-kéɓa bárka 'oo? M 21.6 | What should we do Christians, so we can receive this blessing? |
| múnyu háa mi-yécca-maa ND 2.23 | Be patient so I can tell you. |
| 'a-hókkita-mmi háa mi-wádda féere. AB 8.1 | You give [it] back to me so I can bring some [more]. (speaking of a loaned vessel) |
| 'o-wúrti háa 'o-dílla kádi. AB 10.18 | She went out to go away. |
| túubee háa 'on-ndóondo káre Máyrama M 4.15 | Repent so you can inherit Mary's wealth. |

In requesting patience or permission of someone, the main clause may be omitted. In these cases an imperative such an múnyu may be placed before the háa and the total effect would be approximately equal. Compare ND 2.23 above with the following examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| to-háa mi-'éma-'on ko-'on-'ándi... M 8.1 | Then let me ask you what you know... |
| mbárooga víi háa táha láral-go... AB 8.1 | The lion said let me lick that skin. |

325] háa introduces 'until' clauses or smaller units. When háa introduces subordinate clauses with the verb in any tense other than the subjunctive it indicates that the action of the main clause continues until the action of the subordinate háa clause takes place.

The following is a description of Noah's preaching to the people prior to the great flood:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓe-ɗo ndáara-mo, ɓe-ɗonjála, háa nyánde 'Alla yíbbi-noo, ndíyam wári máɓɓi dúniyaaru, ɓe-kálkidi. M 3.4 | They look at him, they laugh until the day God destroyed [the world], the water came, covered the world, they got lost together. |
| ɓe-fíji fíjirle máɓɓe háa ɓe-sáfti... ND 1.11 | They played their games until they were satisfied...(...until they had had enough...) |

An animal got so scared it:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɗosórta, ɗosórta, ɗosórta, háa ɓérnde múuɗum tá'i...máayi. MS 1.16 | It runs, [and] runs, [and] runs, [away with fright] until its heart gives away...it dies. |
| ɓe-njóoɗi, háa híiri... AB 4.10 | They sat until late. |
| Báaba Hàman yári'. háa hé'i-mo. MS 66.8 | Haman's father drank until he was satisfied. |

In past time, when both clauses are completed there is no distinction between purpose and 'until' in Fulani as there is in English. In such cases, an English past purpose clause would be translated with an 'until' clause.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'Álla yíɗi dúniyáaru, háa 'o-hókki bájjo màako... DY 1.1 | God loved the world, until he gave His only Son... |

326] nde- introduces clauses indicating a temporal sequence.

| | |
|---|---|
| nde-biríiji ɓéndi húunde wároya'. MS 96.5 | When the peanuts matured, the thing would come. |
| fówru nde-yí'i mbéewa yíɗi náŋgugo mbéewa. AB 7.16 | The hyena, when [it] saw the goat wanted to catch the goat. |
| nde-ɓe-njéhi kónu'-? ɓe-táwi háaɓe... MS 92.7 | When they went [to] war, they found the slaves... |
| mi-'andi ɓe-ŋgíɗi nde-ɓe-mbáɗi túubalìije... M 175.1 | I knew they wanted when they made bricks... |

327] no- introduces clauses indicating manner.

| | |
|---|---|
| séy 'en-láara, no-ɗum-wá'i. M 182.5 | Let us see, how it goes. |
| 'ándee...no-káɓan-mi. MS 64.1 | Know...how I will fight. |

328] 'áw is a correlative conjunction which is used in pairs and relates formally equal utterances.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-ɗojógi ko-'Álla víi-mo | He guards what God told him. |
| 'áw 'ó'hisa-? 'áw 'o-hísata-? nyénde kíita-? 'Alláhu'alámu. M 10.7 | Whether he will get saved, or whether he will not get saved, the day of judgment, God knows. (God will reveal it on the day of judgment.) |
| jémmaare hánde máa-? Jáwmiraawo 'ándi no-'en-tímmidini 'e-máare. | The night of [this] day even, the Lord knows how we will finish it. Whether we will see |

| | |
|---|---|
| 'áw 'en-ŋgí'a púɗki náaŋge, 'áw 'en-ŋgí'ataa, báawɗe séy 'Álla. M 11.7 | the sunrise, or whether we will not, the power [is] only God's |

329] The infinitive recalls or recapitulates the action of the previous clause and relates it to what follows.

| | |
|---|---|
| láamɗo hóoti. hóotugo, ɓii-kíla wáŋgi. MS 102.6 | The chief went home. Having gone home, the smith's daughter showed up. |
| háa véeti. véetugo yáapendo máako dílli máayo. MS 96.1 | Until dawn. When it dawned, his maternal aunt went to the river. |

The relationship may be shown by the use of a different action root, but one which sums up what has been done before.

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓóosaaji-go ŋgári. yóttugo ɓíira ɗi-páɗɗi nyíibi-go... MS 98.1 | Those dogs came. Upon arrival, they struck down those elephants. |
| 'o-hóo'i kúuje 'o-dílli. wártugo, ɓe-písti thíiwo. MS 107.7 | He took the things, he went.. Upon returning, he let the leopard loose. |

# CHAPTER 6 PHRASES

## 330] 6.1 Noun Phrases

This description is based on a special study of over 2000 noun phrases. This corpus actually reflects the complexities of an estimated 10,000 noun phrase tokens.

The function of a noun phrase is to fill subject, complement, topic or description positions in clauses. Less frequently a noun phrase may be the only filler in an entire clause. Furthermore, noun phrases may form the axis of locative, time, manner, reason and accompaniment phrases.

> In a sampling of 861 noun phrases, it was found that 808 or nearly 94 percent had one head or main nominal. Of these 808 noun phrases, 355 or about 44 percent occurred as single words. Further samplings indicate that about 40 percent of all noun phrases occur with one word while about 50 percent occur with two words. Perhaps less than one percent of all noun phrases occur with four or more words. Approximately six percent of the noun phrase sample consisted of noun phrases with multiple heads.

### 331] 6.11 Noun phrases with one nominal head

Noun phrases with one head nominal can be said to show a head-modifier relationship. Although all noun phrases of this type have a common overall structure, there are limitations on the elements that can occur together. Limiter$_1$ and referent never occur together, and the occurrence of a non-noun as head nominal imposes rather severe limitations as to the co-occurrence of other elements. The general description will be made first with noun as head and later the limitations on this general type will be described when the head is an independent pronoun, dependent pronoun, particle or nominalized verb phrase.

332] 6.111 The most common noun phrase may be expressed in the following formula:

(Lim$_1$) Head (GN$^n$) (PPr) (ATN) (Ref) (Lim$_2$)

where Lim is limiter, GN$^n$ is genitival modifier repeatable, PPr is possessive pronoun, ATN is attributive modifier, Ref is referent. The description of limiters may be found in 210; of nouns in 93ff; of possessive pronouns in 168-170; of referents in 195-199. The attributive modifiers may be any noun, ~~interrogative~~ or demonstrative pronoun (see 207-209), numeral (200-206) or féere or méere.

The head of this type of noun phrase may be any noun.[1] The genitival nouns may be any noun or possessive pronoun.

333] Limiters (Lim) often go in pairs, with the first limiter before the head and with the second limiter in last position. kéerol or kála often go with fúu or pát in this way, as do séy and tán. But any of these may appear alone.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| séy | 'Álla | tán | Only God alone MS 107.5 |
| Lim$_1$ | Head | Lim$_2$ | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| báɗarle | màako | pát | ornaments-her all MS 58.6 |
| Head | PPr | Lim$_2$ | (all her ornaments) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kéerol | débbo | fúu | limit woman all |
| Lim$_1$ | Head | Lim$_2$ | (every last woman) MS 96.3 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'o-té'i | dèbbo | féere | he married woman-another |
| | Head | ATN | (he married another wife) MS 70.1 |

---

[1] A few head nouns in a head-genitival construction have alternate forms which are shortened and unstressed (clitics). E.g. baa-Háman for báaba Háman, 'father [of] Haman,' Mal-Sáali for Mállum Sáali 'Teacher Saali,' ɓii-sóobaajo for ɓiŋgel sóobaajo 'child [of] a friend.'

334] Genitival nouns are non-attributive. However, attributive nouns (adjectives derived from verb stems or adjective stems) are sometimes used as genitival nouns. As the following examples show, stress is an important determining factor.

ɓìŋgel górgel MS 197.1 child male (boy)
Head ATN

ɓìŋgel déyel MS 197.1 child female (girl)
Head ATN

We may also get

ɓìŋgel débbo MS 101.2 child woman (girl)
Head ATN

In this context the meaning remains the same. But note

háala dèbbo MS 54.8 palaver [of] woman
Head GN (the woman's palaver)

wákkere dèbbo MS 58.7 side [of] woman
Head GN

Had there been attribution the attributive would have been in agreement with the head noun. In the case of ɓìŋgel débbo above, the collocation is so familiar that the meaning is unambiguous even to speakers who do not note the difference in stress.

Other examples of genitival nouns are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sáare | báaba | màako-ɗo | home [of] father lies here (his father's home here) MS 103.8 |
| Head | GN | PPr Ref | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sárla | górko | màako | trousers [of] man-her (her husband's trousers) MS 61.7 |
| Head | GN | PPr | |

The genitival modifier can be repeated:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| cúura | hùunde | ládde | big-house [of] thing [of] bush (the wild creature's big house) MS 66.15 |
| Head | GN | GN | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ɓóosaaji | màako-go | 'úmmi | dogs-his those-in-question arose (The dogs of his that we talked about got up.) MS 98.7 |
| Head | PPr Ref | | |

335] The possessive pronoun (see 168-170) occurs in the position after the genitival noun and before the attributive noun.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɓíkkoy | 'ádda | màako | náyon | Children [of] older sister-his four (His older sister's four children) MS 63.1 |
| Head | GN | PPr | ATN (Num) | |

336] The attributive position can be filled by adjectives, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, numerals, and féere and méere. Two attributives do not often occur together in the same noun phrase. When they do, the adjectives come first, e.g. gállure wónde féere MS 2.2

'another different town.' I have only one example of two adjectives co-occurring in a noun phrase and this was in elicited material.

ɓiŋgel déyel ɓàleyel góotel child female black one
Head ATN (Adj) ATN (Adj) ATN (Num) (one black girl) MS 197.1

However, an adjective plus other attributives does occur:

gállure wònde féere city another different (another
Head ATN (Adj) ATN city, a different one) MS 186.2

337] The referent position follows the attributive position. The four referent words are described in 195-199. That these follow the last possible element in the attributive position is shown by the following example:

jíire ndéya-go MS 76.2 ground-squirrel that-the one
Head ATN (FDm) mentioned (The ground-squirrel
there that we talked about)

That they come before the last position (Limiter) is shown by these examples:

láamɗo wúro-man fúu Chief [of ] village that all
Head GN Ref Lim (All the chiefs of that place)
MS 58.6

kóŋguɗi góɗɗi-ɗi Utterances other these
Head ATN(Adj) ATN(NDm) (these other utterances)
MS 200.6

Other examples of the use of these referents are:

sóoba'en-ˀam máajum AB 122.3 friends-my referred to (these
Head PPr Ref friends of mine)

haa-súudu súka 'ón at the house [of] the young man,
Loc Head GN Ref that one (at that young man's
house) AB 10.21

'áan 'ón 'ándi ND 85.6 You are-the-one who knows
Head Ref Verb

kóndoŋ-'am-ɗo MS 104.6 bananas-my here (these bananas
Head PPr Ref of mine)

338] Numerals and demonstratives can occur together

dábbaaji jówi-ɗi M 185.4 animals five these (these five
Head ATN(Num) ATN (Dependent NDm) animals)

ŋgésa-go pát MS 106.4 field mentioned all (all of the
Head Ref Limiter field we mentioned before)

339] 6.112 There are other noun phrases with a structure similar to that of the main noun phrase type described above. These also have a head nominal but since there are severe limitations on the peripheral items, it is useful to study them separately.

The noun phrase with an independent pronoun or independent demonstrative as head may be formulated thus:

$(\mathrm{Lim}_1)$ Head (ATN) (Ref) $(\mathrm{Lim}_2)$

The independent pronoun (see 186-192) as head is the only obligatory element, so that it may appear alone in this type of noun phrase.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| mín | ví'ete | Dárabana. | I am called Darabana. MS 60.1 |
| Head | | | |
| NP | Verb | Co | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'óya | 'úmmi. | MS 109.3 | He [over there ] arose. |
| Head | Verb | | (That one arose) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'o-móori | ŋgáal | MS 66.5 | She beautified it. |
| S Verb | Head (Co) | | (She arranged its feathers) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| káyri | ŋgíɗ-mi | MS 188.8 | That NDI want I |
| NP (Co) | Verb-S | | (That's the one I want) |

Of the limiters only séy occurs in the data available to me.

| | |
|---|---|
| séy káŋko MS 73.3 | only he |

Of the attributive nominals only the independent near demonstratives have been found to co-occur with the independent pronoun as head.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mín | 'óo. MS 64.5 | I (am) the one. |
| Head | ATN (independent near demonstrative) | |

| | |
|---|---|
| káŋko 'óo MS 76.5 | He [is] the one. |

All the referents occur with the independent pronoun as head; and some of them occur with the independent demonstratives.[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| mín-ɗo MS 84.1 | I here |
| Head(ID) Ref | |
| 'óya-go MS 110.1/Ma 115.3 | that one that we referred to |
| Head(ID) Ref | |
| 'óya-man ND 87.7 | that one |
| ɓéya-go MS 93.3 | Those there that we referred to. |
| káŋko 'ón AB 121.1 | He [was] the one. |
| séy káŋko 'ón MA 139.1 | (He [is] the only one) |

The final position limiter can also occur:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɓéya-kam pát! MS 78.3 | They there all |
| Head (FDm) FW Lim$_2$ | (All of them!) |

340] 6.113 The noun phrase with a dependent pronoun as head may be represented by the following formula:

Head plus Numeral or Limiter

---

[1] Although my data shows only the referents -go and -man with the independent demonstratives, there seems to be no reason why 'ón could not also occur with these demonstratives.

Since the head of this noun phrase is a dependent pronoun, i.e., a clitic, it cannot stand alone but must occur with either the numeral or the limiter or both. The construction is rather rarely found.

ɓe-sáppo pát. MS 75.1 They ten all.
Head Num Lim$_2$

ndóggee 'on-pát MS 98.2 Run you all!
Verb Head Lim$_2$

'on-ɗíɗo pát MS 96.2 You two all
Head Num Lim$_2$ (Both of you)

341] 6.114 The noun phrase with certain particles as head may be represented by the following formula:

(Lim) Head (Referent)

The particles which may act as a head nominal are locatives, infinitives, interrogatives and time words.

Interrogatives and time words may occur alone and act as noun phrases:

Head (interrogative)
ŋgéleyel? MS 201.7 Which NGEL?

fájiri véeti. ND 89.1 Morning dawned.
Time word
Head
S V

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| nde-kíikiɗe | wáɗi | M 177.6 | when evening happened |
| Time word | | | (when evening came) |
| Head | | | |
| S | V | | |

All of these particles may occur with referents and thus operate as noun phrases:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'o-rúfi | tó-go | MS 82.6 | He poured out that that we talked about. |
| | Loc | | |
| | Head Ref | | |
| S-Verb | Complement | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| tímmini', | défugo-go | MS 97.3 | finished cooking-referred to |
| | Infinitive | | (finished that cooking) |
| | Head Ref | | |
| Verb | Complement | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| móy-ɗo? | Ma 118.2 | Who's this here? |
| Interr. | | |
| Head Ref | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| jáŋgo-go | MS 66.6 | Tomorrow that we talked about |
| Time word | | |
| Head Ref | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| fájiri-ɗo | M 181.7 | morning this |
| Time word | | (this morning) |
| Head Ref | | |

The limiter sęy can occur in these kinds of noun phrases.

sęy fájiri G 162.6 Until tomorrow
Lim Head

342] 6.115 The verb phrase may be nominalized by the use of nominalizing pronouns (see 193-194). The nominalized verb phrase is the head of noun phrases which may be represented by the following formula:

(Lim$_1$) Head (Ref) (Lim$_2$)

The nominalized verb phrase may be used alone:

to-'ándine ko-dàgáaki. M 181.2 Don't make known what is unlawful.
NZ Verb
Head
VP Complement

wóodaa ko-ɓúri njúmri véelgo? [Is there] nothing that surpasses
NZ Verb Phrase honey [in] sweetness?
Verb Subject M 183.5

Limiters may occur with the nominalized clause:

kéerol ha-jókke jókke ŋgóni fúu Limit where joints joints are all
Nominalized Phrase (wherever the joints are)
Lim$_1$ Head Lim$_2$
MS 104.4

mo-'o-fáɗɗi pát MS 77.5 who he struck all

Nominalized
clause (whoever he struck)

Head Lim$_2$

The following examples show how referents are used in this type of noun phrase:

har-ɓe-ŋgéewtata-ɗo MS 103.2 where they will chat here

Head Ref

dága no-ŋga-wárata-man MS 95.4 From how it comes that one

Head Ref

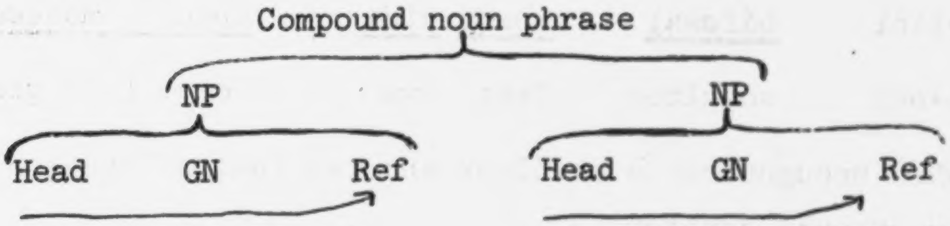
Prep NP

mo-wóndi bee-má-go ND 88.6 who is with you, the one we talked about

Head Ref

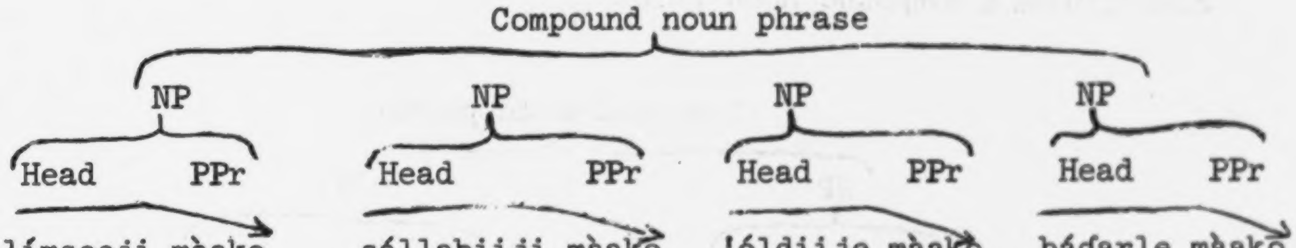
343] 6.12 The remainder of the noun phrase types are plural-centered or compound noun phrases, i.e. they have more than one head nominal. Although the sample showed only 6 percent of all noun phrases as being of this type, this group includes the most complex noun phrases. However, the analysis is simplified considerably if we take intonation patterns into account.

344] 6.121 A series of noun phrases accompanied by a shift in intonation levels /↗ ↗ ↗/ or /↘ ↘ ↘/ indicates that the noun phrases are part of a group or series or list.


Compound noun phrase
NP
NP
Head
GN
Ref
Head
GN
Ref

pádali pádali'en-ɗo      kóobi kóobi'en-ɗo      MS 95.7

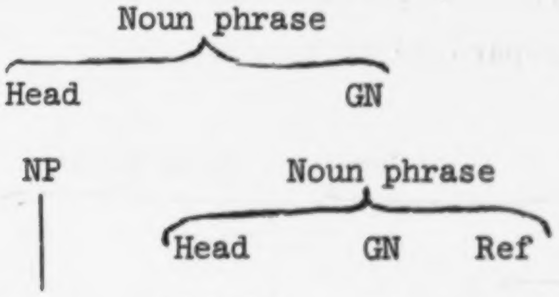
various reedbucks here,      various roan antelopes here


Compound noun phrase
NP
NP
NP
NP
Head
PPr
Head
PPr
Head
PPr
Head
PPr

límseeji màako      sállabiiji màako      'óldiije màako      báɗarle màako MS 58.6

her clothes      her kerchiefs      her necklaces      her jewelry

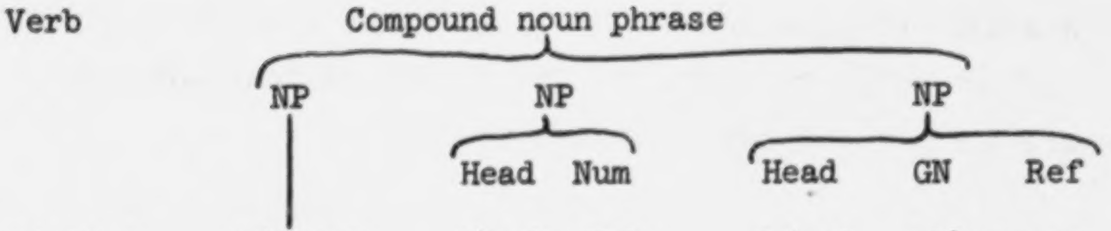
345] 6.122 Two or more noun phrases may be conjoined by a single intonation pattern. This indicates that the first noun phrase is the head and that the succeeding noun phrases modify the first genitively.


Noun phrase
Head
GN
NP
Noun phrase
Head
GN
Ref

dáama   fíɗaande   yáare-go      AB 1.18

respite [of] sting [of] scorpion that

(respite from that scorpion sting)

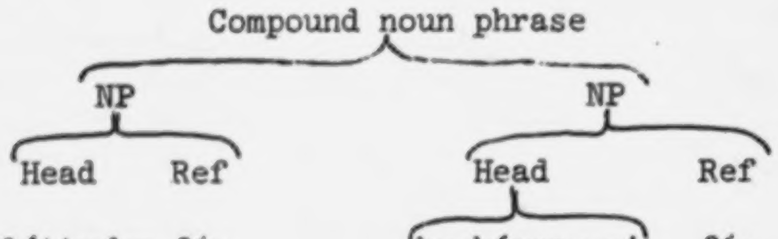

Verb
Compound noun phrase
NP
NP
NP
Head
Num
Head
GN
Ref

wúrtini bálawal kòsɗe ɗíɗi kúsel mbèewa-go MS 64.5

put-out shoulder feet two meat [of] goat that was talked about

((He) brought out a shoulder and two feet of the goat meat that was mentioned earlier)

346] 6.123 When two or more noun phrases are separated by pause with sustained intonation, they are in apposition. The series then constitutes a compound noun phrase.

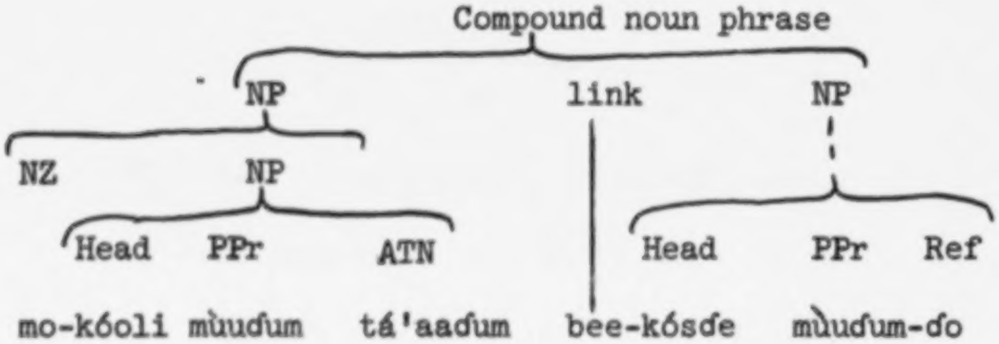

Compound noun phrase
NP
NP
Head
Ref
Head
Ref

lúttuɗum fúu ko-kúuwan-mi fúu MS 80.2

remainder all what I will do all

The level and volume of intonation may vary from noun phrase to noun phrase.

347] 6.124 Two or more noun phrases may be connected by a link. (These are also usually separated by pause.)

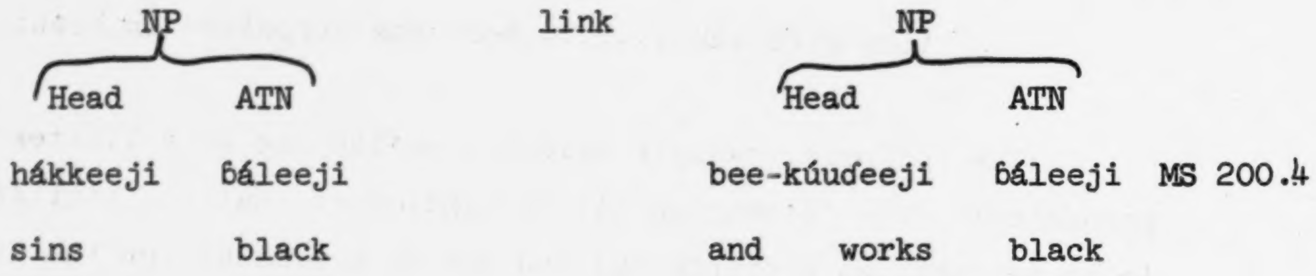

Compound noun phrase
NP
link
NP
NZ
NP
Head
PPr
ATN
Head
PPr
Ref

mo-kóoli mùuɗum tá'aaɗum bee-kósɗe mùuɗum-ɗo DG 54.2

who fingers its were cut with feet its here

(whose fingers were cut and feet too)

The second noun phrase is parallel to the first except that tá'aaɗum is omitted in the second phrase.



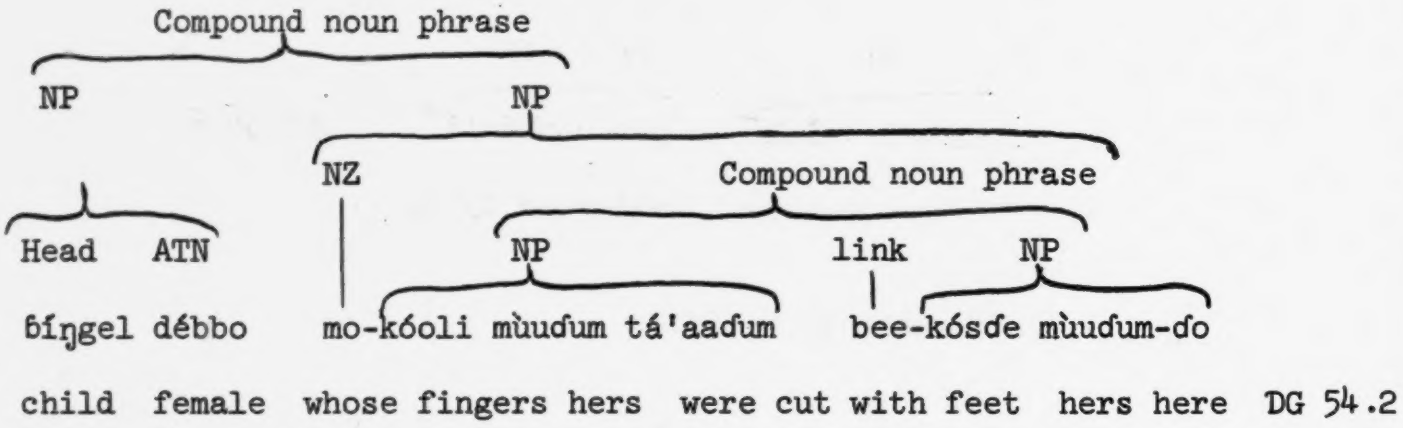
hákkeeji ɓáleeji bee-kúuɗeeji ɓáleeji MS 200.4

sins black and works black

(evil aims and evil works)

348] 6.13 Combinations of simple and compound noun phrases

Compound noun phrases may become part of other noun phrase combinations just as any simple noun phrase may.



ɓiŋgel débbo mo-kóoli mùuɗum tá'aaɗum bee-kósɗe mùuɗum-ɗo

child female whose fingers hers were cut with feet hers here DG 54.2

(For more details see 347).

349] 6.14 Noun phrase as subject of a clause

Any noun phrase or compound noun phrase which is the subject of a clause may have a pronominal in apposition to the main noun phrase. The longer and more complex the noun phrase, the more likely it is that an appositional pronominal will occur. In the example cited in 347 from DG 54.2 the independent pronoun káŋko appears in apposition to the noun phrase.

| Compound noun phrase | pronoun | Verb phrase |
|---|---|---|
| ɓíŋgel......-ɗo | káŋko | ɓúri vóoɗugo. |

(the girl who.........here she surpassed in beauty)

The following example illustrates the use of a limiter as pronominal. The intonation pattern indicates that the limiter pát is to be taken as a pronominal and not as a limiter for the last noun phrase.

| Prep | NP | NP | NP |
|---|---|---|---|
| dága | límseejo màako | sállabiiji màako | 'óldiije màako |
| from | her clothes | her kerchiefs | her necklaces |

| NP | Pr VP | |
|---|---|---|
| báɗarle màako | pát ɗombáali... | MS 58.6 |
| her jewelry | all were lying... | |

The formula for the above is:

$$\overbrace{\overbrace{\text{Prep}\quad\text{NP}\quad\text{VP}\quad\text{NP}\quad\text{NP}}^{\text{NP}}\qquad\text{Pr}}^{\text{S}}\qquad\overset{\text{V}}{\text{VP}}$$

## 350] 6.2 Verb phrases

### 6.21 The verb phrase core

The verb phrase is composed of a verb phrase core (see 211) and a modifier which may or may not be present. Most occurrences of the verb phrase are without the modifier. The following examples are given to show the occurrence of verb phrases (underlined) without a modifier.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ɓe-kúli. | M 174.3 | They feared. |
| ɓe-móopti. | M 174.5 | They assembled. |
| mbíi-mo-mi 'áa'a. | M 174.7 | Said I [to] him, "No." |
| mi-ɗoréena kádi. | AB 121.7 | I am waiting then. |
| ŋgam-débbo 'o-yáhan-noo. | MS 110.5 | because [of] the woman he had gone. |

351] 6.22 Verb phrase modifiers

There are three types of verb phrase modifiers: the adverb, the infinitive, and negative particles.

6.221 The adverb (see 254-256) may be either an ideophone or a non-ideophonic adverb and it normally follows the verb phrase core. However, non-verbal complements may come between the verb phrase core and the adverb.

In the following examples both the verb phrase core and the adverb are underlined.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ɓe-nànáay sám. | MA 148.6 | They did not hear at all. |
| mi-nànáay bélɗum màajum sam. | M 179.4 | I did not sense that sweetness at all. (I was not at all pleased with that.) |
| ndi-máwni séeɗa... | MS 106.5 | It grew a little... |
| min-ŋgími-ŋgol séeɗa... | M 4.27 | We sang it a little. |
| ...ɓe-láɓɓini-ɓe tal! | MS 71.6 | They washed them clean! |
| yóo, náwliiko túm ɗojála-mo kádi. | MA 138.7 | Well now, the co-wife always was laughing [at] him so. |
| mi-wári haa-yímɓe-'am kap. | M 182.7 | I came right to my people. |

352] 6.222 The infinitive (see 252) modifies the verb phrase core. The infinitive may occur with one or two objects and follows the verb phrase core that it modifies. When the verb phrase core occurs with an object, this object occurs between the verb phrase core and the infinitive.[1] Both the verb phrase core and the infinitive are underlined in each of the following examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'óya-go-boo méetàay díllugo láɗde. MS 64.2 | That one never again went away to the woods. |
| mi-wáawataa jóoɗàago MS 100.1 | I can't sit. |
| ko-támmi héllango súɓetèeɓe G | What is about to clap [for] the to be chosen ones |
| ɓe-púɗɗita wásugo MS 66.2 | They would start again to dig. |
| 'o-dílli hóo'oygo jíire... MS 76.2 | He went to take the gopher. |
| 'o-nyálla yárugo déne MS 65.5 | He spent the day drinking eggs. |
| 'en-kísàay yáŋgitèego M 16.1 | We did not escape being tortured. |

Infinitives do not occur with a subject. If there is a subject, it must relate to the main verb.

| | |
|---|---|
| léwru fúɗɗi 'éeroygo MA | The moon has begun to rise over there. |

However, an infinitive may occur with one or more objects.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-yótti wáɗugo sáare MS 56.1 | He attained making a home (he was now old enough to start a home). |
| láamɗo...wáawataa ɓúrugo-mo njáwdi. MS 56.8 | The chief could not surpass him [in] riches. |

353] 6.223 The negative particles táa, to-, táata, etc. (see 279) precede the verb and the subject of the verb which they negate. In the following examples both the negative particle and the verb phrase core are underlined. Only the subjunctive and imperative forms are negated in this way.

| | |
|---|---|
| to-góɗɗo séla... M 181.4 | A person shouldn't go astray... |

---

[1] Note, however, mi-méettaa-'on yíigo MS 2.13 'I will never see you again' where the object of the infinitive precedes the infinitive.

| | |
|---|---|
| táa 'a-yéjjita-ɓe...Ibr 52.6 | Don't you forget them... |
| táa pé"ee lékki-ɗo. DG 54.1 | Don't chop down tree here. (this tree) |
| táa 'éwnu mbárooga...MS 75.6 | Don't call the lion... |

## 354] 6.3 Prepositional phrases.

Prepositional phrases form an optional part of clauses (see chapter seven). They are introduced by prepositions.

### 355] 6.31 Locative phrases

Locative phrases are composed of locative prepositions (280-296) plus a noun phrase (330-349). The locative preposition specifies the location of the action or state of the main verb of the clause. The locative phrase is underlined in the following examples.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-yéhi MA 139.1 | He went. |
| 'o-yéhi nder-véendu!. MS 70.7 | He went into the lake. |
| ɓe-njéhi gáɗa wúro. MS 109.5 | They went to the other side of town. (away from town) |
| 'o-síwti les-lékki...MS 99.4 | He rested under a tree. |
| ɓe-nyíɓi súudu màɓɓe cáka cákládde MS 100.5 | They built their house right in the middle [of] the woods. |
| féwre wúrtatáako haa-húnduko máako. M 179.8 | Lies don't come out from his mouth. |
| ɓe-njíppini-yam haa-dáŋki ki-ɓe-mbáɗani Dí'o'. M 173.8 | They put me in the shelter that they made for the District Officer. |

### 356] 6.32 Other prepositional phrases

There are some prepositional phrases which are composed of non-locative prepositions (297-302) plus a noun phrase. The relationship of the noun phrase to the action or state of the main verb is indicated by the preposition that occurs.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-ɗotáppa bee-hóolo AB 12.13 | She was hitting with noise. (noisily) |
| séy 'o-lóri váŋgiti bee-górkogo. ND 88.2 | She came back [and] appeared again with that man. |
| mi-láari-maa-kam bána 'áan 'a-'ándi huunde'. MA 145.2 | I saw you as though you, you knew something. |
| sóoynde wáɗugo réwɓe, kóo ɗíɗi. M 23.9 | The lack of having wives, even two. |
| 'o-wúrti yáasi ŋgam-sémtèende'. AB 12.17 | She went outside because of shame. |

# CHAPTER 7 CLAUSES

## 357] 7.1 Introduction

Clauses are defined as those utterances filling positional slots in a discourse. Three types of clauses will be described: Those which have the verbal as nucleus; those which are equational where the verbal is optional; and those which are functional and have no verbal.

D. W. Arnott has made an important study on the 'verbal complex'[1] in Gombe Fulani in which he describes the radical with its suffixes and elements, i.e. the tense system, the subject and object pronouns and the preterite element. He demonstrates how these items plus intonation and final glottality are inter-related and how they work together as a unit. The traditional roman orthography, however, makes this inter-relationship less obvious by separating the morphemes. Nonetheless, it is at the points where traditional orthography divides the 'verbal complex' that the boundaries for the phrase divisions within clauses exist.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'a-hólli-mo | M 23.1 | You showed him |

The above is indeed phonologically one unit (verbal complex) but is traditionally written a holli mo thereby reflecting the grammatical divisions of subject, verb, object. This becomes more evident when one uses nouns or noun phrases in the subject and object positions.

| | |
|---|---|
| Búuba hólli sóobaajo màako. | Buuba showed his friend. |

## 358] 7.2 Types of clauses

When analyzing Fulani clauses it is convenient to make generalizations about the positions which word classes may fill. For instance, the subject position may be filled by the word class called nominals. Nominals may consist of one or more words or phrases which are expandable. Only by so generalizing can the material be reduced to manageable proportions.

---

[1] Arnott 1965.

Seventeen hundred and thirty-seven clause patterns from four different speakers of the Adamawa dialect were examined. All but 41 of these were classified; the rest fell into three major groups. A pilot study of 130 clauses of a speaker from Niger was made for the sake of comparison. It was found that these clauses could also be classified into the same larger groups. There were no patterns (with one possible exception) that did not fit the system outlined below. The proportions, however, were noticeably different in regard to the subject verb order. Twenty-one examples of the inverted form were found in the Niger sample of 130 compared to 44 examples of 1737 in the Adamawa material. The other divergences were too small to be significant on the basis of such a small sampling.

The figures and examples[1] in paragraphs 356-372 are given on the basis of the study of the Adamawa clauses unless otherwise designated.

### 359] 7.21 Subject-Verb-Object Clauses and Variations

Over 86 percent or 1497 samples of the total sampling from Adamawa (1737) fall into one major clause pattern which may be formulated as follows:

I S VPC Co 1, 2, 3 Loc T/M/R Ac VM/Cl

which represents: Introducer; Subject; Verb Phrase Core;[2]

---

[1] For the clause analysis of an entire text, see Appendix F.

[2] This study, made in 1961, presented an incorrect analysis of VPC (then called Verbal (V)). Verbal then meant the verb phrase core (see 211 ff. and 350 ff.) plus any verbal modifiers that immediately followed. Non-contiguous verbal modifiers (then written A) were positioned separately. However, since this would not give us any new clause types and the number of verbal modifiers for an over-all sample like this would be quite small and the figures thus not very different, they are left uncorrected. See Stennes 1961.

Complements one, two and three; Locative; Time, Manner or Reason; Accompaniment; Verbal Modifier or Closer. These names refer to positions or positional slots within a clause of this type. The only obligatory position is the verb phrase core position. The locative position usually precedes the T/M/R slot but may follow it. The T/M/R and the VM/Cl positions may be occupied by only one filler in any given clause. This major clause pattern has four subdivisions, the first of which is the largest and contains those patterns which fit into the main pattern without modification, while the other three subdivisions contain clauses that have certain stateable deviations.

360] 7.211 From the formula above it may be seen that the number of possible combinations would be very large. Although the material contains only eighty different patterns, only the statistically important patterns will be described.

The minimal possible clause occurs when one verbal fills the verbal position:

hèɓáay[1] AB 11.1 He did not get

The maximum possible clause would be very long. There are a few examples in the data of clauses with six or seven filled positions:

no-'Álla néldi Jíbra'íilu haa-Máyrama bee-kóŋguɗi Jíbra'íilu
I S VPC Co Loc Ac
how God sent Gabriel to Mary with words of Gabriel. M 10.23

'ámmaa to-'a-wáawan, fíyango-yam, kíne-'am-ɗo níi bee-kíne màaɗa
I S VPC Co Cc Loc M
But if. you can shoot for me, my nose thus with your nose...AB 1.6

---

[1] One might postulate a zero subject pronoun in these cases but I have chosen to deal only with overt distinctions.

361] About 22 percent or 377 examples of the clauses examined were S VPC:[1]

'Íisa máayi M 7.8 Jesus died.
S VPC

mín ɗokáɓa. Ma 2.8 We are trying.
S VPC (Maroua)

ɓíɗɗo górko-go 'o-náni MS 186 2 that male child, he heard
S VPC

362] Just over 13 percent or 228 examples of the clauses were S VPC Co:

mbárooga wártiroy, láral fówru-go The lion brought back from there
S VPC Co the skin of that[2] hyena. AB 8.9

kórɗo-go hoosi hálagaare-go That female slave took that ring. MA 130.7
S VPC Co

'o-jáɓay hiite. W 2.26 He will receive fire. (Niger)
S VPC Co

363] About 12 percent or 210 clauses of the Adamawa sampling were of the pattern VPC:

---

[1] The sample also included some samples such as jiire díwi sadák
S VPC VM
AB 6.21 'The ground squirrel jumped' which would change the figures slightly, but not the overall picture

[2] -go is translated by 'that' (elsewhere sometimes left untranslated). It refers to that which has previously been spoken of (see 196).

ɗombi'a AB 10.21 She is saying
VPC

lórnu AB 6.1 Return [it].
VPC

wúrti MS 186.6 He went out.
VPC

which comes from the context: Hírsi-mo pás wúrti dílli 'He slaughtered him [emphatic], went out [and] went away' which consists of three clauses, two of them being in this category.

364] Just over 6 percent of the clauses were I S VPC:

ndíkka mín 'ón mi-máaya. AB 12.4 Better I be the one to die.
I S VPC

'ámmaa 'en-ácci. M 1.10 But we left [it].
I S VPC

káy, mi-wúrtintaa. Ma 2.9 No; I will not take [you] out.
I S VPC (Maroua)

365] Over 5 percent of the clauses were of the pattern I S VPC Co:

nde-'a-tókkàay-mo M 8.10 Since you haven't followed him.
I S VPC Co

séy to-'a-tókki 'Íisa 'Álmasiihu, ɓíɗɗo 'Alla. M 8.13
I S VPC Co
only if you follow Jesus Christ the Son of God.

háa 'o-wáɗi réedu MA 129.6 ...until she became pregnant
I S VPC Co

ngam-'Álla 'o-yí'i nyálaande ngó'o...Wusi 2.16 (Niger)
I S V Co
Because God he saw one day...

366] Less than 5 percent of the clauses in the sample were of a VPC Co pattern.

'Iísa ɗón dow-gáafal, láatake, sádaka hákkeeji mèeɗen fuu. M 2.15
VPC Co
Jesus there on the cross, became the offering for our sins.

fórti kósɗe mùuɗum, hóo'i ɓíɗɗo dèbbo-go MS 186.7
VPC Co
He stretched out his feet, [he] took that girl

ndén fáatiiru méemi cókkol-go, táwi péewdi, ɗísi peɗéeli AB 9.8
VPC Co VPC Co
Then the cat touched that comb, found [it] cold, stuck [in his] claws...

Báaba húli, yéhi yécci láamɗo'.
VPC Co
The father feared, [he] went, [he] told the king. MA 125.5

ɗáɓɓu ɗággileeji kósam...Ma 3.4
VPC Co
Look for milk containers...

367] Only 49 examples or about 2.8 percent of the clause patterns were S VPC Loc.

'o-ɗonrewi, nder-'índe 'Iisa 'Almasiihu.
S VPC Loc
He worships in the name of Jesus Christ. M 2.10

ɓíɗɗo débbo ɗón haa-gállure wónde féere
S VPC Loc
The girl is at another village. MS 186.2

'o-jóoɗi haa-tón. MA 147.3
S VPC Loc
He stayed there.

mbéewa wári haa-ŋgéelooba. AB 4.2 The goat came to the camel.
S VPC Loc

'o-vákki dow-bálawal màako. AP 10.7 He shouldered [him] on his
S VPC Loc shoulder.

368] 7.212 There is what is called the inverted verbal form which may be described as a variation of the general pattern. In certain cases the first and second person subject pronouns will follow the verbal stem rather than precede it. When the participial form is used as a verbal it will also fall into this category since the class identifiers are always suffixed to the stem.

. . . séy tókk-en, séy ngáɗ-en ko-'Álla yíɗi. W 1.21 (Niger)
I VPC S I VPC S Co
. . .let us follow, let us do what God wants.

'a-yíi ɓíkkoy-'am ha-mbáɗan-mi? AB 5.13
I VPC S
[Do] you see my children where I will do [hatch] them?

séy ɓíɗ-aa fówru. AB 8.13 Only squeeze you the hyena.
I VPC S Co (You must squeeze the hyena.)

mbíi-mi M 171.5 Said I.
VPC S

The participial form:
tókkuɗo dúniyaaru fúu jóoni. . . The one who follows all the
VPC S Co T worldly now. . .W 3.1 (Niger)

369] 7.213 In 96 examples out of 1737 clauses, there is what may be described as an emphasis position which normally comes before the subject position. The item is thus given special emphasis.

tontón har-réedu fówru bélɗum-ɗum 'íwi AB 8.13
Loc S VPC
There in the stomach of the hyena sweetness originates.

ɗonɗón ɓérnde-'am yéwi. M 10.14 There my heart broke.
Loc S VPC

jóoni mi-ɗoyíɗi mi-bátta-'on hábaru. . .W 1.1 (Niger)
T S VPC
Now I want, I tell you the news . .

na-'áan 'ón véelo náawata. AB 2.16 You are the one that hunger pains.
I Co S VPC

Sometimes part of a positional filler (complement) may occupy two slots: its normal one plus a place of emphasis.

'ámmaa 'áan-boo ɓe-ɗombí'e. . But you too they are saying [about]
I Co S VPC Co you. . .AB 1.4

370] 7.214 There are 51 examples of question formations. These are usually formed by adding a question position to the major clause pattern (346), and only rarely with only a rising intonation on the clause. The question position is usually initial or final. (Q represents question word or interrogative, see 207, 209, 274-276).

ɗúme ŋgáddu-ɗaa? AB 7.22 What did you bring?
Q VPC S

ndéy 'ékkitinan-maa-mi ? AB 10.16 When will I teach you?
Q VPC Co S

yéendu-boo wóodi nyí'e-na. . . The anteater has teeth, yes?
S VPC Co Q AB 3.6

'Álla yíɗi kúuwanáaɗum kúugal-na? DY 10.7 (Kano)
S VPC Co Q
Does God want worked works? (Does God want man-made works?)

góoŋga mbíi-ɗaa-na? ND 4.17 Are you telling the truth?
Co VPC S Q

### 371] 7.22 Topic-description clauses

The second major pattern of clauses is the equational or topic description type. Only about 5 percent (89 examples) fall into this category. In the formula Top represents 'Topic' and Des represents 'Description.' Clauses may also fill these positions.

kíccawol-ŋgòl-boo-? fáatiiru-? wáadi bee-'ǎsugúmri. AB 8.19
Top Des
This story also, the cat became enemies with the rooster.

kányum-boo níi. AB 11.24 That one also thus.
Top Des

tóro máa dakkérr AB 11.5 Threepence even difficult
Top Des

sey Jáwmiráawo, wóni 'ánduɗo, nder-bólle máajum. M 10.8
I Top VPC Des Loc
Only the Lord is the-knowing-one, in those words.

sóoba'en màako ɗón táti.            His friends were three.
      Top        VPC  Des            (He had three friends.) MS XVI  T 18

372] 7.23 Non-verbal clauses

The third major division also contains only a small number of clauses in proportion to the total (110 out of 1737). These may be called particle-like clauses and there is no verbal position.

373] 7.231 The larger discourse divisional function introducers are classified as clauses of this type (cf. 304-309). The following opens a discourse unit:

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo jáma'áare-'am,. . .M 12.1 | Now my people. . . |

yóo here opens a discourse divisional unit:

| | |
|---|---|
| yóo 'o-hóosi 'o-yéhi. . .MA 122.5 | Well, she took [it], she went. . . |

jám introduces a larger unit in a discourse:

| | |
|---|---|
| jám, 'o-wáddi-ŋgol. . .Ma 2.20 | Good, he brought it. . . |

374] 7.232 Expletives (Exp) may fill clause positions in the discourse (see 257-268).

| | |
|---|---|
| 'a-hóotan? 'óoho. AB 5.19 | You going home? Yes. |
| 'o-ví'a 'áyye 'Álla-'am. AB 12.3 | She would say, "Oh, my God." |

375] 7.233 Interrogative particles may also often best be described as filling a position in a discourse (see 274-276).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ŋgám ɗúme? | DY 3.14 (Kano) | Why? |
| nóy? | AB 6.8 | What? |
| nóy-kam? | AB 9.3 | How's that? |

# CHAPTER 8 DISCOURSES

## 376] 8.1 Introduction

Discourses are units of speech that are opened formally and closed formally, and which contain a body of material.

Discourses most amenable to study are folklore because the linguistic markers are more widely used in these to signal the structure. But in fact these are often intercalations in a larger discourse. Discourses may be said to begin any time two or more people meet and talk. When they do, formal openings are made and when they terminate formal closings are made. The fact is of course that these can be and are omitted, but unless the non-linguistic context provides these signals, their omission tells us that something is amiss.

377] Let us examine the framework of a large unit of discourse during an evening in Cameroun. Buuba is on his way to spend the evening with Njidda at Njidda's home where he is sitting alone. This is the formal introduction. Greetings follow.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Búuba | - saláama 'aléykum. | Peace be upon you. |
| 2. | Njídda | - 'amíina saláamu. | Amen, peace. |
| 3. | Búuba | - 'a-nyálli jám? | Did you have a good day? |
| 4. | Njídda | - jám. | Yes. |

From this we gather that they are known to each other and that they have probably seen each other within the last 24 hours (item 3). The formal introduction can vary slightly depending on the sex of the individual, the place of meeting, and the relationship of the two people.

saláama 'aléykum is most formal and is used by a head of a house to another and also when the people addressed are not seen or known.

gáafara is used by women in announcing their coming and less often by men when an intrusion is implied.

sánnu is used in meeting people face to face anywhere. A close friend may be called by name.

Following the formal introduction which consists of statement and response, the greeting takes place. Although there are certain fixed patterns which are in fact formal at certain levels of social relationship, these are adapted to the people involved and to the context. They also take into account previous discourses.

Then other conversation will take place, either leading out of information gathered in the greeting or on different subjects. If the topic is changed, there will be a formal marker. Within this overall discourse, shorter units of discourse which are complete in themselves may take place. These may be fables, tales, riddles, descriptions, etc., and they will have a formal opening, a body and a close. Should there be a series of these, relation markers within each will refer to the preceding one and will usually indicate the type of relationship.

## 378] 8.2 Types of discourse

Discourse,[1] being considered as including all human speech, can be classified into some common categories: Conversation, which may include monologue, dialogue and group speech; addresses, which are speeches prepared by a specialist for a particular group of listeners and are often political or religious; folklore, which includes tales, moral stories, songs, riddles, and parables, which are retained in much the same form from generation to generation.

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[1] See Storbeck 1920/21, Taylor 1929, Whitting 1935, East 1935, Pfeffer 1939, Arnott 1957, Stennes 1961, Klingenheben 1963, Mohamadou 1963 and 1965, Lacroix 1965 for various Adamawa Fulani texts. See also the Appendix.

háala is a very general term and most items of discourse may be included in it. See Pfeffer 1939 for a discussion of some of these categories.

### 379] 8.21 Conversation

Among the Fulani terms for conversation and speech are:

| | |
|---|---|
| wólde | word |
| bólle | words |
| Háa mi-wólwa bólle-'am... MS 67.5 | Let me say a [few] words. |

Mállum Márkus says there are three kinds of bólle:

| | |
|---|---|
| bólle déftere | printed words |
| bólle lúumo | market conversation |
| bólle fáada | edicts of the court |

| | |
|---|---|
| kóŋgol | message, utterance |
| kóŋɗi | messages |
| kóŋɗi góɗɗi-boo bóoɗɗi, kóŋɗi góɗɗi-boo méttuɗi. | Some messages are good, some are unpleasant. |
| ...háalaaji máwɗi, kánjum ví'ete kóŋɗi. MS 200.6 | Important discourses, that is what is called kóŋɗi. |
| hábaru[1] | news |
| tóo, mi-yíɗi mi-yécca-'on hábaru ńo-mi-wárdi haa-'Álmasìihu. M 170.7 | Well, I want to tell you the news [of] how I came to Christ. |
| 'o-víi-mo hábaru wáɗi. MS 109.3 | He said [to] him, "news [is] made." (I have news for you.) |

Other words used in talking about language are hárfuure 'letter of the alphabet,' bóliiɗe 'speech,' 'áaya 'verse.'

---

[1] hábaru is also used for certain folklore stories by some informants, see 390.

380] 8.22 Addresses, (wáaju (sg), wáajuuji (pl)) are prepared by a specialist such as an official, a religious leader, or a teacher for groups of people.

mi-wáaji-ɓe M 174.5 I preached to them.

381] 8.23 Folklore is the type of literature which has been handed down from generation to generation. Of course, these may include items originating in this generation, but if so it will be similar to the general body of such material. These are:

| | |
|---|---|
| gímol, yímre | song, poem |
| kíccawol | moral story |
| géccol | moral story, tradition |
| táalol | tale |
| ŋgéewta | conversation |
| 'ánditan-àm-yo | riddle |
| bálndol | proverb |

The usage of these more specific terms seems to vary from speaker to speaker so that in telling the same story one may announce it as a táalol and another as a géccol. This simply means that the point of view is different. A great deal of material will need to be examined before precise definitions can be made.

### 382] 8.3 Structure of discourses

Seventeen stories classed as folklore and eight other discourses were analyzed in an investigation of the structure of such discourses. This evidence was supplemented by a cursory examination of several times that many discourses. Both literary categories and linguistic forms were used to arrive at the different parts of discourse structure. These are charted in 390.

The literary categories are reflected in the headings; Formal opening, (which gives the type of discourse), title, setting, body, lesson or summary, and close. However, when one examines the transitions and other repeated markers, it is evident that the linguistic clues are very often present. (see Appendix)

We may list the linguistic markers of the story in appendix B; MS 63.5-63.8: (tóo signals that a new topic is about to begin).

Opening and Title: -boo indicates that the topic of this story of similar to that of the last story and thus that this story is also a géccol.

Setting: Although there are no function words signalling the beginning or end of this unit, the verb yi'- 'to see' does occur. Verbs like see, find or discover (táw-) and tenses other than the past help to signal the setting.

Body: nyénde-nde 'one day' signals the beginning of this section. Other such signals are ndén, 'then' nde, 'when,' etc. (See 310 ff.)

Lesson: ɓíiraba (or its variants) sometimes occurs repeatedly in a story; in such cases it is a hesitation phenomenon. But in this story, its use helps to signal transitional points in discourse.

Close: tímmi. 'Finished' tells us that we are finished with our story.

The structure of Fulani discourses can be represented by the following formula:

Introduction + Body + Conclusion

This pilot examination indicates that these items may be basic to all Fulani discourse.

383] 8.31 The introduction comprises:

Formal opening (with relators) + Title + Setting

384] The formal opening is basically an announcement of the type of story that follows.

géccawol...AB 1.1 (VIII A)
táalol-ŋan fúɗɗi-yoo-? MA 132.5 (IX M)
táalel táalel jénata ɓóoyel MS 59.6 (IX G)

This may simply be a reference to a previous story of the same type by means of a relator.

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo, 'óo-boo,...MS 64.1 (IX L) | Well, he also... |

In the above example, the relator -boo refers back to the previous story and tells us that the present one is of the same type. In 100 recorded discourses, fifteen have no such opening, but it is probable that the introduction was given before the actual recording, either by the informant or in the request by the field worker. It is likely that the formal opening is an obligatory item.

385] The title is often given with the formal opening and is frequently a Topic-Description clause. If verbs occur, they are often such verbs as wóodi 'there was,' wáadi 'strove,' etc. In the following opening statements the title is underlined.

| | |
|---|---|
| géccawol fówru bee-yáare. AB 1.1 | The story: The hyena and the scorpion. |
| ɗébbo ɗányi cíwtukoy. MA 131.4 | A woman bore twins. |
| wóodi wúro féere - bírniwol máapindiwol. DG 53.9 | There was a certain village -- a big town. |
| kíccawol-ŋgol-boo, fówru wáadi bee-yéendu. AB 5.1 | This story too: the hyena strove with the anteater. |
| tóo, mi-yíɗi mi-yécca hábaru no-mi-wárdi baa-'Álmasiihu. M 170.7 | Well, I want to tell the news [of] how I came to Christ. |

386] In the setting, additional information is given which will provide the needed background material for the main part of the discourse. The setting is very rarely omitted.

Opening:

| | |
|---|---|
| hábaru... | News... |

Title:

| | |
|---|---|
| mbéewa no-wáadi bee-fówru. | How a goat strove with a hyena. |

Setting:

| | |
|---|---|
| fówru ɗowáanca mbéewa ɗowáanca ɓe-pótti..MS A.1 | A hyena was strolling, a goat was strolling, they met. |

Opening:

| | |
|---|---|
| yóo jónta-ɗo ŋgéewta... | Well now a dialogue... |

Title:

| | |
|---|---|
| ...páaɓa bee-yáare. | ...a big frog and a scorpion. |

Setting:

| | |
|---|---|
| páaɓa bee-yáare mbíi mbáɗan buláaje. Ma 120.1 | The hyena and the scorpion said they would have a water game. |

387] The relators play an important role in the formal opening and in the title, in that they relate to a previous discourse in some way. Thus a relator may simply signal a new topic:

| | |
|---|---|
| *tóo*,...M 170.7 | Well,... |

A relator may connect one story with another. The -*boo* in the following example indicates this is also a *kícca* like the last one.

| | |
|---|---|
| kícca káa-*boo*...AB 11.17 | This story too... |

A relator may connect one story with another without repeating all the information. In the following example -*boo nonnón* tells us that not only is it the same type of story but that it also has the same subject matter.

| | |
|---|---|
| tóo, 'óo-boo nonnón bee-débbo mɓuɗum. MS 63.5 | Well he-also in that way with his wife. |

## 388] 8.32 Body

The body may be very obviously structured as in the case of prepared materials, or it may have a very loose structure, as in the case of conversation. But even so, changes of topic and oppositions will be signalled by formal markers. The body of the story begins when one actor asks a question and another answers, or when one actor acts in such a way as to evoke a response. This transition is often marked by a relator. The continuation of MS 91.1 and the beginning of the body of the story is:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'o-vîi-mo sánnu wáay jûuta-dáande. 'o-vîi-mo 'ám-boo sánnu séela-húnduko. MS 91.1 | He said to him, "Hi pal [with a] long neck." He said to him (the monkey), "Hi you too, wide mouth." |

In the following example the transition from setting to body is marked by ndén kádi:

Opening:

| | |
|---|---|
| mi-táala-na? yóo. | Shall I tell the story? Well. |

Title:

| | |
|---|---|
| hámfurde wáadi bee-fówru, sîiwo, mbárooga. | The duiker strove with the hyena, panther and lion |

Setting:

| | |
|---|---|
| yóo ɓe-láari péllel yárugo hámfurde kádi. ɓe-yiɗi háa ɓe-yahn ɓe-náŋga-mo kádi. | Well, they saw the drinking place of the duiker. They wanted to go and catch it. |

Body:

| | |
|---|---|
| ndén kàdi ɓe yéhi... MA 126.2 | Then they went... |

389] 8.33 Conclusion

The conclusion includes the lesson or summary and constitutes a formal close. The lesson or summary is almost always present in the discourses examined. In a story from Maroua a hungry hyena had caught a turtle but found the shell too hard. So he asked the turtle how he could be softened. The turtle said to put him in a stream of water. When the hyena put the turtle there, he got away.

| | |
|---|---|
| jáŋgo to-'a-hóɓi táa sóofnu. | "Tomorrow if you get [one], don't soak [it]." |
| fówru vii góoŋga. | The hyena said, "Fine. |
| ɗúuniya-kam káɓɓ-aa gértogal táwt-aa póola. Ma XIV B | [In] the world you tie up a chicken [and come back and] you find a dove." |

The formal close

Twenty-three of the twenty-five stories examined had a formal close. They varied from a simple tímmi (IX K) MS 64.8 'finished' to a repetition of the title.

| | |
|---|---|
| géccol tímmi. (IXL) MS 64.1 | The moral story is finished. |
| níi kícca fáatiiru-boo wáadi bee-'àsúgumri. (VIII F) AB 9.16 | Thus also the story of how the cat strove with the rooster. |

390] 8.4 Chart of the structure of some discourses

| | Type of Discourse | | Source Reference | | Informant | Topic Change Signal | Formal Opening | Title | Setting | Body | Lesson/ summary | Close |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) | Folklore | táalol | X | B | MA | - | -[1] | - | - | + | + | + |
| 2) | | táalol | X | D | MA | yóo | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| 3) | | táalol | X | C | MA | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| 4) | | táalel | IX | C | MS | tóo | + | - | - | + | + | + |
| 5) | | táalel | IX | D | MS | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 6) | | táalel | XIX | B | MS | - | +R | + | + | + | + | + |
| 7) | | kícca | VIII | C | AB | - | +R | + | + | + | + | + |
| 8) | | kícca | VIII | E | AB | - | +R | + | + | + | + | + |
| 9) | | kícca | VIII | H | AB | - | +R | + | + | + | + | + |
| 10) | | kícca | VIII | I | AB | - | +R | + | + | + | + | + |
| 11) | | géccol | IX | K | MS | - | R | + | + | + | + | + |
| 12) | | géccol | IX | J | MS | tóo | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 13) | | géccawol | VIII | A | AB | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 14) | | hábaru | IX | A | MS | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 15) | | hábaru | XVII | A | ND | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 16) | | kúbaru | IX | B | MS | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 17) | | ŋgéewta | XIV | B | Ma | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| 18) | | ŋgéewta | XIV | H | Ma | yóo | + | + | + | + | + | -A[2] |
| | Conversation | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19) | | Monologue | 203.6 | | MS | tóo | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| 20) | | Description | XXI C | | MA | - | + | + | - | + | + | - |
| 21) | | Description | 167.1 | | G | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 22) | | Description | 173.2 | | M | yóo | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 23) | | Description | 173.7 | | M | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 24) | | Description | 175.7 | | M | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 25) | | Prayer | 181.8 | | M | - | + | - | - | + | + | + |

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[1] The minus sign indicates the absence, the plus sign the presence of the item listed. R refers to the presence of a word clitic relating the story to a previous one.

[2] The audience responded with laughter which served as a closing signal.

391] 8.5 Some general conclusions

A pilot study of folklore and some other discourses has shown us that discourse is highly structured and that this structure is often marked by overt linguistic signals to make the points of transition obvious to the listener.

It was originally believed that folklore was more highly structured than other discourses but this does not seem to be true. However, the overt signals marking the structure in folklore seem to be more evident. One may conclude that all Fulani discourse is structured in very similar ways, but that the overt signals are more evident in some types of discourse and that these markers will serve as useful criteria for the categorization of varieties of discourse.

# GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations of terms:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ac | Accompaniment |
| Adj | Adjective Stem |
| ATN | Attributive Nominal |
| Cl | Closer |
| Co | Complement |
| CV | Consonant-Vowel |
| Des | Description |
| Dm | Demonstrative |
| DPr | Dependent Pronoun |
| Exp | Expletive |
| FDm | Far Demonstrative |
| GN | Genitival Nominal |
| H | Head (Nominal) |
| I | Introducer |
| IDm | Independent Demonstrative |
| IPr | Independent Pronoun |
| Lim | Limiter |
| Loc | Locative |
| M | Manner |
| N | Noun |
| NDm | Near Demonstrative |
| NP | Noun Phrase |
| NR | Noun Root |
| NS | Noun Stem |
| Num | Numeral |
| NZ | Nominalizer |
| O | Object |
| pl | plural |
| PPr | Possessive Pronoun |
| Pr | Pronoun |
| Q | Interrogative word |
| R | Reason |
| Ref | Referent |
| S | Subject |
| SE | Stem Extension |
| sg | singular |
| T | Time |
| Top | Topic |
| V | Verb |
| VM | Verbal Modifier |
| VP | Verb Phrase |
| VPC | Verb Phrase Core |
| VR | Verb Root |
| VS | Verb Stem |

Abbreviations of sources:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| MS | Mallum Saalihu | G | Garoua |
| M | Mallum Markus | Ma | Maroua |
| AB | Mallum Abaayi | DG | Doko Gombe |
| MA | Marta Adama | JM | Jama Maliki |
| ND | Ngaoundéré | DY | Dogon Yaro |
| Ibr | Ibrahima | | |

Explanation of symbols:

| | |
|---|---|
| ( ) | indicates that the enclosed item is optional |
| { } | indicates that the enclosed item is a morpheme which can have variant forms |
| [ ] | a) indicates that the enclosed item is transcribed in a more narrow sense than usual<br>b) in English material indicates items supplied to implement the sense |
| ´ | morpheme stress |
| ` | minor stress |
| ' | major stress |
| * | emphatic stress |
| -? | serial intonation |
| , | sustained intonation |
| ? | question intonation |
| . | closing intonation |
| > | becomes |
| < | comes from |

# APPENDICES

We have appended six discourses:

A Folklore (géccawol) by Mallum Abaayi.
B Folklore (géccol) by Mallum Saali
C Folklore (kícca) by Mallum Abaayi.
D Folklore (táalol) by Marta Adama.
E Description (hábaru) by Mallum Markus Muhammadu.
F Folklore (kícca) by Mallum Abaayi.

Discourses A, B, C, and F are moral stories. Discourse D is similar to our fairy tales and is the type of story normally told by women. It includes singing. Discourse E is a description of events taking place more than thirty years ago.

The transcription is phonemic (except in certain cases where it is morphophonemic, see footnote 2, paragraph 42, and 74ff.) The glosses are fairly literal and are intended to help convey the meaning of the Fulani texts, even though this meant writing inelegant English. Free translations are added for Appendix B, E, and F. False starts are included in A, B, C, and F but are deleted in D and E. The divisions of discourse are marked in all cases. In addition, a clause analysis in indicated in Appendix F.

The references in the title refer to the tape reels, i.e. in Appendix A, the story is found in tape reel VIII story A. The references in the margins refer to the transcribed copies of these stories. The apostrophes in the Fulani text are glottal stops, see paragraph one.

## APPENDIX A

VIII A by Mallum Abaayı

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | OPENING AND TITLE: | |
| | Táalol, géccawol, fówru bee-yáare'. | Tale, [no,] moral story: A hyena and a scorpion. |
| | SETTING: | |
| | Nde-fówru yéhi, wáanci wáanci hébaay ko-nyáama. | When the hyena went, strolled [and] strolled, did not get what [it] should eat. |
| | BODY: | |
| 1.1 | Ndén, ndu-wári ndu-ví'i yáare', mi-hèbáay, ko-mi-nyáama'. 'Ámmaa 'áan-boo be-dombi'e', 'a-tawi [illegible]'. | Then it came, it said [to] the scorpion, "I did not get what I should eat. But you too it is said of you, you get food. |
| 1.5 | Kádi mi-yíɗi 'a-fíɗana-mmi kúsel-? ŋgam-háa mi-heɓa mi-nyáama ŋgam-véelo mbári-yam-? yáare vii yóo bóoɗɗum. 'Ámmaa to-'a-wáawan; fiyango-yam, kíne-'am ɗóo nii bee-kíne máaɗa', mi-tíran lágawal-'am bóoɗɗum, ŋgam mi-fíɗan-e kúsel. | Well, I want you to shoot me meat so I can get I can eat because famine kills me." The scorpion said, "Well, good. But if you can hit for me my nose here with your nose, I will draw my bow up good so I can shoot for you meat." |
| 1.9 | 'O-víi bisimilla', 'en-yáa'. Ɓe-ndilli haa-ládde'. Ɓe-yéhi ɓe-táwi, kúsoy ládde-boo ɗón, ŋgóola haa-ŋgóolirde háa-nder-ládde'. Ndén, yáare, víi fowru i'an-am haa-hóore, bee-kíne máaɗa. | It said, "In the name of God, let's go." They went to the bush. They went. They found small animals were licking salt in a salt-lick in the woods. The scorpion said [to] the hyena, "Press against my head with your |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1.12 | Ndén fówru wáddi', kíne mùuɗum 'í'i' háa, hóore yàare'. | nose." Then the hyena brought his nose, pressed against the head [of] the scorpion. |
| 1.13 | Yáare lórni víco wári, háa-nder kíne fówru nde-fíɗi fówru. Fówru dó"i'; wóoki; wóoki; nde-fówru ɗonwóoka', kúsoy ládde ha-ŋgóolata-ɗo náni wóokaandu fówru koy-kúltori koy-cáŋkiti. | The scorpion brought around tail came into the nose [of] the hyena, it stung the hyena. The hyena fell, howled, howled; as the hyena was howling, the small animals at the salt-lick there heard the howling of the hyena, they feared, they scattered. |
| 1.16 | Ha-koy-ɗondógga-ɗo-ʔ gónŋgel féere dó"i, dáande yéwi, gónŋgel kósŋgal yéwi. Koy-cáŋkiti. Fówru wáali ɗonɗón. Háa báɓɓol wáɗi. | Where they were running here, one fell neck broke another the foot broke. They scattered. The hyena lay there, until pre-dawn arrived. |
| 1.18 | Nde-fówru heɓi, dáama fíɗaande yáare-go féwti-ʔ ndén ndu-'úmmi ndu-yéhi, ndu-táwi yáare dílli. ndu-táwi haa-péllel kúsoy ŋgóolan-noo-go, ndu-táwi kúsoy ŋgórkoy féere ndó"i mbáati haa-ɗón. | As the hyena got better [from] the sting [of] that scorpion [which] cooled, then it arose, it went, it found the scorpion [had] gone, it found at the place the small animals had licked salt, it found some small male animals [had] fallen [and] died there. |
| | Ndu-nyáami háa ndu-háari. Ndu-dílli. Jáŋgo-boo ndu-wári háa-ɗon. Ndu-táwi lúttuɗum ndu-nyáami. Ndén ndu-dílli. | It ate until it was satisfied. It went. Tomorrow again it came there. It found the rest, it ate. Then it went. |

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|---|---|
| Yéhi fáɓɓi-? ndu-héɓàay ko-ndu-nyáama fahín; ndu-ɗáɓɓitoy yáare-go. 1.22 | Went a long time, it did not get what it should eat again, it looked for that scorpion elsewhere. |
| Ndu-ví'i yáare', 'árande 'a-fíɗani-yam; mi-nyáami. Mi-yíɗi hánde-boo 'a-fíɗana-mmi. Yáare ví'i yoo-? to-'a-yíɗi-kam; mi-fíɗant-e, too-'a-wíawan 'í'ugo kíne-'am-kam. 2.3 | It said to the scorpion, "At first, you shot for me, I ate. I want today too you shoot for me." The scorpion said, "Well, if you want, I will shoot for you, if you can press my nose." |
| Ndén ndú, -númi-boo, náawɗum fíɗannde yáare-go ndu-húltori. Ndu-víi 'áa'a', ndíkka mi-'í'a bee-kósŋgal. {?oo'} Yáare víi 'aá'a to-'a-'í'i bee-kósŋgal-kam-? ndén-kam lágawal-man fíɗataa bóoɗɗum. 2.6 | Then it thought again [of] the pain of that scorpion sting, it feared. It said, "No, better I press with the foot." The scorpion said, "No, if you press with the foot--then the bow will not shoot good. |
| Séy níi 'a-'í'a bee-kíne mhaɗa. Ndu-wádda kíne háa hóore yáare ɓána háa ndu-'í'a', ndu-húltora ŋgam-náawɗum 'árande-go; ndu-ví'a 'aá'a' ndíkka kósŋgal. Yáare-boo ví'a á' bee-kósŋgal-kam mi-yíɗaa'; séy níi [beeay] bee-kíne. 2.9 | Necessary so you press with your nose." It brought nose to the scorpion's head, it pressed, it would fear because of that pain that was before; it would say, "No, better the foot." The scorpion too would say, "No with the foot I don't want, only with the nose." |
| Ndén, ndu-táwi 'aá'a', húunde maajum náawi. Ndu- | Then, it found, no, that thing hurt. It said, "Oh, your bow-- |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2.13 | víi káy, lágawal máada-man nyáadi masín. Bee-kíne-kam mi-wáawataa. Séy 'en-'ácca kádi. | that is wicked very. With the nose I cannot. Necessary we should leave [it]." |
| | LESSON: | |
| | 'O-víi yóo 'áan 'ándi kádi. Na-'aàn'ón véelo náawata. Min-kam véelo náawàay-yam. | He said, "Well, you know. Aren't you the one famine will pain? I--famine doesn't pain me." |
| | CLOSE: | |
| 2.15 | Ndáa níi kiccawol-? yáare bee-fówru wáadi. | There [is] how (the moral story) the scorpion and the hyena strove. |

## APPENDIX B

### IX K by Mallum Saali

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | OPENING AND TITLE: | |
| 63.5 | Tóo, 'ɓo-boo nònnón bee-débbo mùuɗum. | Well, he too also with his wife. |
| | SETTING: | |
| | Sùka féere ɗoɗáɓɓita-mo débbo tùm tùm tùm. 'O-'ándaa. Bee-ɓíŋgel màako 'ámmaa ɓíŋgel-kam ɗoyí'a. | Another young man was always after his wife. He did not know. But his child was observing. |
| | BODY: | |
| | Nyénde-nde ɓíiraba 'o-dílli jáhaaŋgal.' | One day he made a trip. |
| | Súka wárti nástí súudu-? jàwmu sáare-boo nònnón ɗowárta. | The young man came back, entered the house. The owner of the house was coming back also at that time. |
| 63.6 | Bíirabaddel, débbo màako tági górko-go.ɓáari heɗ-ɗáago kåp. Górko wárti. Débbo násti wáali haa-súudu. Débbo 'úmmi námi, défi ɓe-ɗombáali níi. | His wife rolled that man in the bed-roll. Her husband came back. His wife went in and laid down. She got up and cooked for him and laid down. |
| | Bíirabaddel, górko-go nyáami', górko-go ɗó haa-dáago. Bíŋgel-go víi káyto 'áyye báaba-'am-? 'o-víi-mo hḿm. 'O-víi kóomoy fúu bee-ko-númata'. 'O-víi hḿm. 'O-víi mín bee-ko-núman-mi-? dáada- | The husband was eating. The other man was in the bed-roll. His child said, "Oh my father." Father said, "What?" He said, "Everyone with his thoughts." Father said, "Yes?" He said, "I and my thoughts, |

| | |
|---|---|
| 'am bee-ko núman-mi-? báaba-'am-boo bee-ko númata-? 'óo-boo bee-ko-númata. | Mother with her thoughts, Father with his thoughts, he too with his thoughts." |
| 63.7 Báaba màako víi-mo móy? 'O-víi-mo mín bee-ko núman-mi 'Áan bee-ko-númat-aa dáada-'am bee-ko-númata. 'Óo-boo bee-ko-númata. | Father-his said, "Who?" He said, "I with my thoughts, you with your thoughts, Mother with her thoughts, he too with his thoughts." |
| Ɓíirabaddel nònnón báaba háfti pút. Hóo'i' [ɗumáani hóo'i hóo'i hóo'i] lábbo. Víi yúwan dáago-go. Górko-go sáari fárrr. Ɓíiraba cáarol dága nder-dáago háa 'íli ɓíiraba násti yíite. | So then father jumped up, took a spear and said he would spear the roll. That man had the excrement scared out of him. The excrement ran out from the roll way to the fire. |
| LESSON: | |
| 63.8 Ɓíiraba 'o-víi-mo sáala vúrta--kam ɓii-bú'e'. Kóo ko-górko--go wáɗi mi-yóofti-mo. Ɓíiraba 'o-víi-mo 'a-méeriɗi. | Now he said to him, "Pass by and go out, son of excrement. Whatever that man did, I let him go." He said to him, "You became worthless." |
| CLOSE: | |
| Tímmi. | Ended. |

## FREE TRANSLATION

Well now, here is another story of a man and his wife.

A certain young man was always after his wife. The husband didn't know about it, but he had a child who saw what was going on. One day the father went on a trip. That certain young man had come into the house, but at that time the father was also returning home. So on sensing this, his wife rolled that young man right up in a bed-roll. When her husband came, she was lying down but got up and ground the meal and cooked it and went back to her room. Well now, the father ate, and all the while the young man was in the bed-roll.

The child said, "Oh my father." The father said, "Yes". The child said, "Everyone has his own thoughts". The father said, "Yes". The child said, "I have my own thoughts, Mother has her own thoughts, Father has his own thoughts, that one too has his own thoughts." His father said, "Who?" The child replied, "I have my thoughts, you have your thoughts, Mother has her thoughts, he too has his thoughts."

Well now the father jumped right up, took a spear, and said he would pierce that bed-roll. The young man was frightened so stiff that he voided so much it went way to the fireplace. So the father said to the young man, "Go on, get right on out you dirty dog, you worthless fool."

And that's the end.

# APPENDIX C

## VIII E by Mallum Abaayi

OPENING AND TITLE:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Ndáa-boo kícce, mbéewa wáadi bee-fówru, bee-mbárooga'. | Here also a moral tale, the goat strove with the hyena, with the lion. |

SETTING:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Mbéewa, wári táwi fówru'. Fówru nde-yíi mbéewa yíɗi náŋgugo mbéewa. | The goat came found the hyena. The hyena when [it] saw the goat wanted to catch the goat. |

BODY:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7.16 | Ndén mbéewa-boo húltori; víi-mo fówru 'en-njáa haa-ládde [nyaa-] nyáamoy-aa-mi tón. | The goat feared, [it] then said [to] him, "Hyena, let's go to the bush; you eat me there." |
| 7.19 | Be ndilli haa-ládde'. Njéhi ɓe-táwi mbárooga'. Ndén, nde-ɓe-táwi mbárooga, mbéewa no-yíi mbárooga víi mbárooga káaw-'am, ndáa mi-wáddani-ma húunde bélɗum. 'O-víi ɗume ŋgáddu-ɗaa? | They went to the bush, went [and] found a lion. Then, as they found the lion, the goat as [it] saw the lion said, "Lion my uncle, Look, I brought you a sweet thing." It said, "What did you bring?" |
| 7.22-<br>6.1 | 'Asée [wun,] njúmri dón háa-nder páalel-ma ŋga-'a-ɗovákki. 'O-hóo'i lárel-go 'o-súuwi háa-nder njúmri 'o-hóosi 'o-hókki mbárooga'. Mbárooga hóosi; múkki haa-húnduko. | Well now, there was honey in your small bottle that you shoulder. It took that small skin [and] dipped [it] in the honey, he took [it] and gave [it to] the lion. The lion took [and] put [it] to [its] mouth. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 'O-víi táhu mbonnón. 'A-hókkita-mmi háa mi-wádda féere. Mbárooga víi háa táha láral-go dílli nder-réedu. | It said, "Lick [it] only, so you can give [it] back to me and I can bring [you] more." The lion said, "Let me lick," skin-that went into the stomach. |
| 'O-víi na-mi-móddi, 'o-víi yóovo kádi na-sáy 'a-héɓa láral fówru, ndén, fówru víi 'áa'a, mín-kam náa háa-'am dáy-? 'o-víi 'ń'hmm her-máako, ndén fówru 'úmmi; sórti; mbárooga 'úmmi; tókki: ɓe-ndílli ɓe-ndíllidi, ɓe-ndíllidi. 8.2 | It said, "Well, I swallowed [it]." It said, "Well, you must get the skin [of] a hyena." Then the hyena said, "No, me, not with me, hey?" It said, "Yes, from him." Then the hyena rose, ran away. The lion arose, followed, they went. They went together, they went together. |
| Ndén, mbárooga jókkitoy fówru náŋgi. Dúurti láral, wáddi. Mbéewa-boo-? kánjum-boo nde-yí'i mbárooga dílli-? hóo'i ɓíkkoy mum dóggi dílli wúro. | Then, the lion reached the hyena [and] caught [it]. Stripped the skin and brought [it]. The goat, it, when it saw the lion go, took its children [and] ran to town. |
| LESSON: | |
| Mbárooga wártiroy', láral fówru-go har-'ácci-noo mbéewa--go, wári tàwáay mbéewa-? [tàwáay, tàwáay mbéewa,] tàwáay, njúmri ndi-méem-noo- | The lion came back from there with the skin of that hyena to where it had left that goat, came, did not find the goat, did not find the honey it had tasted. |
| CLOSE: | |
| Níi mbéewa wáɗi dábare no-kísra. 8.8 | Thus, the goat made a stratagem to get saved. |

## APPENDIX D

### X D by Marta Adama

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | SETTING: | |
| 133.4 | Yóo, sukaajo góoto 'o-do-wdaano kódi. 'O-tawi póola dosúfta', dowidita', jaartorde gáwri. | Well, then a certain young man was strolling. He found a dove was picking, was scratching in a threshing place [for] millet. |
| | BODY: | |
| | Nden kódi 'o-wi'i póola-go, to-'a-wári haa-jaartorde baaba-'am nii na-'a-haaran. Póola-go tokki-mo kódi. 'O-yéhi haa-jaartorde báaba maako. Póola-go modi gáwri-go jimni kódi. 'Ummi', fiiri yéhi joodi dow-dakkawol báaba maako, dári kódi. 'O-wi'i, | Then he said [to] the dove, "If you come to the threshing place [of] my father, you will get enough." That dove followed him. It went to the threshing place [of] his father. That dove swallowed that millet ended.[1] It got up, flew, went, sat on the fence [of] his father [and] stood. It said, |
| 133.5 | 'Aan súka górko<br>'e-nyánde 'e-tiinde<br>'e-lúduru 'e-daande<br>'e-cáwel 'e-júŋgel<br>'a-sémti-boo mi-háarbay. | "You young man<br>with a nice forehead<br>with a wonderful neck<br>with a cane in hand<br>you are ashamed [because] I am not satisfied." |
| 133.6 | Báaba nanii-na<br>ko-póola wi'i-mmi<br>baa-min súka górko<br>'e-nyánde 'e-tiinde<br>'e-lúduru 'e-daande<br>'e-cáwel 'e-júŋgel<br>'a-sémti-boo mi-háarbay. | "Father, please listen [to]<br>what the dove tells me<br>(like) I am 'a young man<br>with a nice forehead<br>with a wonderful neck<br>with a cane in hand<br>you are ashamed [because] I am not satisfied.'" |

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[1] Completely

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Báaba màako vîi-mo, 'o-máɓɓitan-mo béembal mbáyeeri. 'O-máɓɓitani-mo'. Póola-go móɗi fúu jinni'. Fíiri fahín jóoɗi haa-dákkawal báaba màako. | His father said [to] him [that] he should open the bin [of] *mbayeeri* millet. He opened [it] for him. That dove swallowed [it] all ended flew again [and] sat on the fence [of] his father. |
| 133.7 | 'Áan súka górko<br>'e-nyámde 'e-tíinde<br>'e-lúduru 'e-dáande<br>'e-cáwel 'e-júŋgel<br>'a-sémti-boo mi-háaràay. | "You young man<br>with a nice forehead<br>with a wonderful neck<br>with a cane in hand<br>you are ashamed [because] I am not satisfied." |
| | Báaba nanîi-na<br>ko-póola vì'î-mmi<br>baa-mín súka górko<br>'e-nyámde 'e-tíinde<br>'e-lúduru 'e-dáande<br>'e-cáwel 'e-júŋgel<br>'a-sémti-boo mi-háaràay. | "Father, please listen [to]<br>what the dove tells me<br>(like) I am 'a young man<br>with a nice forehead<br>with a wonderful neck<br>with a cane in hand<br>you are ashamed [because] I am not satisfied.'" |
| 133.8 | Máɓɓitan-mo béembal njígaari. 'O-máɓɓitani-mo o móɗi jínni'. 'O-fíiri kádi-boo 'o-jóoɗi haa-dákkawal báaba màako 'o-vîi, | "Open for him the bin [of] *njigaari* millet." He opened [it] for him. It swallowed, ended. It flew again, it sat on the fence of his father, it said, |
| 134.1 | 'Áan suka górko<br>'e-nyámde 'e-tíinde<br>'e-lúduru 'e-dáande<br>'e-cáwel 'e-júŋgel<br>'a-sémti-bee mi-háaràay. | "You young man<br>with a nice forehead<br>with a wonderful neck<br>with a cane in hand<br>you are ashamed [because] I am not satisfied. |
| | Báaba nanîi-na<br>ko-póola vì'î-mmi<br>baa-mín súka górko<br>'e-nyámde 'e-tíinde<br>'e-lúduru 'e-dáande<br>'e-cáwel 'e-júŋgel<br>'a-sémti-boo mi-háaràay. | "Father, please listen [to]<br>what the dove tells me<br>(like) I am 'a young man<br>with a nice forehead<br>with a wonderful neck<br>with a cane in hand<br>you are ashamed [because] I am not satisfied.'" |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Máɓɓitan-mo béembal nyáɗliri. 'O-máɓɓiti 'o-móɗi jinni'. 'O-fíiri fahín. 'O-jóoɗi haa-dákkawal báaba màako'. | "Open for him the bin of *nyaɗliri* millet." He opened [it]. It swallowed, [it] ended. It flew again [and] sat on the fence of his father. |
| | SONG[1] | SONG |
| 134.5 | 'O-víi-mo máɓɓitan-mo béembal biríiji. 'O-máɓɓitani-mo 'o-móɗi jínni. 'O-fíiri fahín. | He said to him, "Open for him the bin [of] peanuts." He opened [it] for him. It swallowed, ended. It flew again. |
| 134.6 | SONG | SONG |
| | 'O-víi-mo máɓɓitan-mo béembal nóome. 'O-maɓɓitani-mo'. 'O móɗi'. 'O-fíiri fahín. 'O-jóoɗi, | He said [to] him, "Open for him the bin [of] beniseed." He opened [it] for him. It swallowed. It flew again [and] it sat. |
| 134.7 | SONG | SONG |
| 134.8 | Máɓɓitan-mo béembal nyébbe'. 'O-máɓɓitani-mo 'o-móɗi jínni 'o-fíiri fahín. | "Open for it the bin [of] beans." He opened [it] for him. It swallowed, ended, it flew again. |
| 135.1 | SONG | SONG |
| 135.2 | Báaba màako víi-mo yáh máɓɓiti wáalde ná'i 'a-hókka-mo 'o-móɗa'. 'O-máɓɓiti', 'o-hókki'. Póola móɗi jínni'. Fíiri fahín. | His father said [to] him, "Go open the pen [of] cattle, give [them] it [so] it can swallow." He opened, he gave [them to it]. The dove swallowed, ended. [It] flew again. |

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[1] Each time the song is repeated, only SONG is written to save space.

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|---|---|---|
| 135.3 | SONG | SONG |
| | 'O-vii máɗɗitan-mo wáalde bánde'. 'O-máɗɗiti 'o-móɗi'. 'O-ffiiri fahin. | He said, "Open for it the pen [of] donkeys." He opened, it swallowed [them]. It flew again. |
| 135.4 | SONG | SONG |
| 135.5 | Máɗɗitan-mo lúmmaaru báali'. 'O-máɗɗiti 'o-móɗi. 'O-ffiiri fahin. | "Open for it the pen [of] sheep." He opened It swallowed [them]. It flew again. |
| 135.6 | SONG | SONG |
| 135.7 | Máɗɗitan-mo lúmmaaru bé'i. 'O-máɗɗiti 'o-móɗi. 'O-ffiiri fahin. | "Open for it the pen [of] goats." He opened [it]. It swallowed [them]. It flew again. |
| 135.8 | SONG | SONG |
| | Máɗɗitan-mo, súudu púccu'. 'O-máɗɗiti 'o-móɗi. 'O-ffiiri fahin. | "Open for it the barn [of] the horse." He opened [it]. It swallowed [it]. It flew again. |
| 136.1 | SONG | SONG |
| 136.2 | Yóo 'o-vii-mo 'a-wára 'a-móda hóore-'am kádi. Yóo, 'o-sáli. Vii, | Well, he said [to] it, "You come, you swallow me then." Well, he refused, [and] said, |
| | SONG | SONG |
| 136.3 | Yóo mi-vii-mo 'o-wára 'o-móda hóore-'am. 'O-sali'. 'O-úmmi', 'o-yéhi', o-yéhi', 'o-yéhi 'o-túuti béembal njigaari, 'o-túuti béembal mbáyeeri', 'o-túuti béembal nyáɗliiri, 'o-túuti béembal biríiji, 'o-túuti béembal nóoms, 'o-túuti béembal nyébbe, 'o-túuti kála kúuje báaba maako 'o-móɗi påt kóo-góotel walaa ɗúm | Well, I told him [that] it come, it swallow me. It refused. It got up, it went, it went, it went, it regurgitated the bin [of] njigaari millet, it regurgitated the bin [of] mbayeeri millet, it regurgitated the bin [of] nyadliiri millet, it regurgitated the bin [of] peanuts, it regurgitated the bin [of] beniseed, it regurgitated the |

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|---|---|
| 'o-lútti haa-réedu màako 'o-yéhi 'o-túuti bee-dûm 'o-módi haa-jáartorde báaba màako påt! | bin [of] beans, it regurgitated everything [of] his father [that] it swallowed all, not one small thing was left in its stomach. It went, it regurgitated with that which it had swallowed at the threshing floor of his father, everything! |
| LESSON:<br>'O-víi-mo jáŋgo-boo, to-mi-ɗoɗáɓɓita láafere-'am 'a-wára 'a-jála-mmi kádi. Mi-támmi 'a-háarna tón. | It said [to] him, "Tomorrow, if I am searching in my poverty, you come and laugh at me. I think you will have your fill there." |
| 136.5 CLOSE:<br>Táalol-man jinni kádi. | This tale is ended. |

## APPENDIX E

### Description by Mallum Markus

OPENING AND TITLE:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 173.7 | No-mi-fúɗɗiri kúugal haa-Gáanda. | How I started the work in Gaanda. |

SETTING:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 173.8 | Min-'úmmi háa-ɗo, mín, Búnguwa, bee-Batáajo féere ŋgam-min-njáha, min-ŋgáanca lésɗe háa yáhugo Láala. | We arose here, I, Bundgaard, and a Bata person, so we could go, we could journey through the countries until going [to] Laala. |

BODY:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Min-'úmmi ɗo; min-mbáali Pélla. Min-'úmmi Pella, min-mbáali Jáŋgura. Min-'úmmi Jáŋgura, min-njéhi min-njíppi Gáanda'. Nde-min-njíppi Gáanda' min-táwi ɓe mbáɗani Búnguwa dáŋki ki-jíppoto'. Mín-boo ɓe-njippini-yam haa-dáŋki ki-ɓe-mbáɗani Dí'o'. Min-mbáali ɗonɗón. | We arose here, we slept [at] Pella. We arose [from] Pella, we slept at Jangura. We arose [from] Jangura, we went, we descended [at] Gaanda. When we descended [at] Gaanda, we found they [had] made for Bundgaard a shelter in which [he] will stay. I too, they settled me into a shelter which they [had] made for the District Officer. We slept there. |
| 174.1 | Cáka jémma, góɗɗo wári dári dow-hóore-'am. 'O-víi-yam hèy. Háa ɗó'o, 'a-wáɗata sáare màaɗa. Péllel-ŋgel 'a-wáɗata sáare màaɗa. Nonnón 'o-wáyliti 'o-dílli'. | Middle night, a person came, stood on head-my. He said me, "Hey! At here, you will make home-your place-this you will make home-your." Thus he turned, he departed. |
| | Véeti fájiri mi-yécchay Búnguwa. Min-ŋjáanci háa min- | Broke morning I did not tell Bundgaard. We journeyed until we reached Laala. We returned, we |

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| ndúkki Láala'. Min-lórti, min-ŋgárti Dúmle. Haa-lésdi Yáŋguru'. Nde-min-ŋgárti Dúmle haa-lésdi Yáŋguru', Bátaajo dóggi hóoti hóunde mɓuɗum. 174.2 | came back [to] Dumle in country Yanguru, when we came back [to] Dumle in country Yanguru, the Bata person departed went home thing-his. |
| Séy, mi-víi Máalum Búnguwa', mi-yáhan Gáanda'. 'O-víi 'a-yáhan Gáanda? Mbíi-mi mi-yáhan Gáanda. Wóodaa fúlɓe déy mbíi-mi 'óoho Kóo wóoɗaa fúlɓe-boo mi-yáhan. Mi-yáaran hábaru 'Álla haa-Gáanda. 'O-víi tóo. Mi-víi débbo-'am débbo-'am víi yáhataa. Mi-víi tóo, kóo 'a-yàháay, mín-kam mi-yáhan. 174.3 | [Of] necessity, I told teacher Bundgaard, "I will go [to] Gaanda." He said, "You will go [to] Gaanda?" Said-I, "I will go [to] Gaanda." "There are no Fulani." I said, "Yes. Even so there are no Fulani, I will go. I will take the news of God to Gaanda." He said, "Well." I told wife-my, wife-my said will not go. I said, "Well, even [though] you do not go, I, I will go." |
| Mi-lórti', mi-víi Máalam Búnguwa 'áccu mi-yáha bee-hócre-'am-? téema nde-'a-'émi-ɓe ɓe-mbí'i ɓe-ŋgíɗi góɗɗo-? háa wállita-ɓe ɗó-? téema ŋgam-ɓe-láari-maa,láral-ma dánewal, 'a-báture, ɓe-kúli. | I returned, I said [to] Teacher Bundgaard, "Let me go with head-my--perhaps when you ask them they say they want a person--to help them here--perhaps because they see you, skin-your white, you European, they fear. |
| 'Ammaa 'áccu mín góɗɗo ɓáleejo bána máɓɓe mi-yáha-? to-ɓe-ŋgíɗi máa-? mi-héptan. To-ɓe-ŋgíɗaa, ɓe-kúli máa-? ŋgam-máaɗa ɓe-kúli máa-? mi-héptan. 174.4 | But let me a person black like them, I go--if they want so--I will find [out]. If they do not want, if they fear so--because [of] you they fear so--I will find [out]." |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Tóo mi-wá"i púccu-'am. Máalam Búnguwa hókki-yam góɗɗo défanáɗɗo-yam. Mi-yéhi mi-táwi 'árnaaɗo Gáanda haa-Jáŋgura ɗojáɓa céede. Mi-'úmmi mi-yéhi haa-máako, mi-hóofni-mo'. Mi-víi-mo mi-wári haa-máaɗa, haa-lésdi máaɗa. Ngam-mi-nána, ko-wón háa hímɓe màaɗa. 'O-víi-yam tóo. | Well, I mounted horse-my. Teacher Bundgaard gave me a person who will cook for me. I went. I found the chief [of] Gaanda at Jangura was receiving money. I arose. I went to him, I greeted him. I said [to] him, "I came to you, to country-your. In order I hear what is with people-your." He said to me, "Well." |
| 174.5 | Véeti fájiri 'o-háwti-yam-bee-góɗɗo 'o-víi-? góɗɗo yáara-mmi haa-wákiili màako wákiili màako jíppina-mmi. Wákiiliijo màako jíppini-min nde-mín-njótti Gáanda. Haa-súudu, dáŋki ki-ɓe mbáɗan-noo Máalam Búnguwa mi-jíppi." | Broke morning he introduced me with a person he said that the person should take me to overseer-his, overseer-his should place me. Overseer-his placed me when we reached Gaanda. In a house, a shelter that they had made for Teacher Bundgaard. I descended. |
| | Háa ɗonɗón, ɓe-móopti'. Mi-wáɗi-ɓe wáaji. Bee-fulfulde ŋgam-ɓe-ɗonána fulfúlde'. Mi-wáaji-ɓe', mi-wáaji-ɓe', mi-wáaji-ɓe', mi-wáaji-ɓe. Mi- | There they assembled. I made them a sermon in Fulani, because they are hearing Fulani. I preached [to]..., I preached [to] them, I preached to them. I |
| 174.6 | víi tóo jónta mi-wári háa móoɗon-? ŋgam-mi-nána, no-'on-ŋgórri. 'On-ŋgíɗi góɗɗo wára wúrtina-'ón nder-nyíɓre-na kóo 'on-ŋgíɗaa? Be-mbíi ɓe-ŋgíɗi. | said, "Well now I came to you-- in order I hear how you are getting on. You want a person come bring you out of darkness? Or you not want?" They said they wanted. I said, "Well." |
| | Mi-víi tóo. To-'on-ŋgíɗi-kam, mín-boo mi-yíɗi mi-láara, 'ánniya mòoɗon. 'On- | "If you want, I too I want I see your intent. You make bricks. I slept there days twenty and five. |

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| mbáɗa túubalìije'. Mi-wáali tón bálɗe nóogas, 'e-jówi. Ɓe mbáɗi túubalìije, wáɗi 'újuneere'. | They made bricks, made one thousand. |
| Séy háakimiijo lésdi wári 174.7 táwi-yam. 'O-víi-yam 'áan wóni Máalam Márkus Muhámmaduna? Mbíi-mo-mi 'óoho. Háakimiijo máajum, 'índe máako-? Máala 'Usumáanu. Déerɗu Gáldima Yóola. | Then an official [of] the country came, found me. He said [to] me, "You are Teacher Markus Muhammadu, aren't you?" Said I to him, "Yes." Official-that name-his Teacher Usumanu. Brother [of] Galdima Yola. |
| 'O-víi tóo. Mi-yí'i ɗérewol máaɗa. 'A-néldi-yam ɗérewol mi-láari. 'Ámmaa, 'a-jóoɗatáako háa-ɗo. Séy 'a-'úmma jónta 'a-dílla'. 'A-wúrta lésdi-'am. Mbíi-mo-mi 'áa'a. Mínin náa min-wúyɓe lésdi. Min-ŋgújjataa 174.8 lésdi'. To-min-kéɓaay 'ízni,[1] haa-lésdi, min-ŋgárataa min-njóoɗo'. 'Ámmaa fúu dá 'e-non mi-náni. | He said, "Well, I saw letter-your. You sent me a letter, I saw. But you will not remain here. Necessary you arise now you depart. You go out country-my." Said I to him, "No. We are not we thieves [of] country. We will not rob the country. If we do not receive authorization in the country, we will not come we stay. But nonetheless, I heard." |
| 'O-sáali', 'o-dílli Kanjákkara. Séy mi-wíndi ɗérewol. Mi-néli haa Máalam, Búnguwa. Sáa'i màajum 'o-ɗò Kílba kádi-boo. 'O-lórtake Kílba. | He passed on, he went to Kanjakkara. Of necessity, I wrote a letter. I sent [it] to Teacher Bundgaard. At that time, he was at Kilba again. Broke morning, the letter reached Teacher Bundgaard at Kilba. |
| Véeti fájiri, ɗérewol yótti Máalam Búnguwa haa-Kílba'. Búnguwa', wa"i', búrbùr mùuɗum. Wári táwi-mo', | Bundgaard mounted motorcycle-his. [He] came found him asked him, he said because he did not |

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[1] Loan word.

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| 175.1 ...'émi-mo, 'o-víi ŋgam-'o-hèɓáay ɗérewol haa-láamiiɗo-? 'o-hèɓáay ɗérewol haa-résden, Búnguwa ví'i-mo tóo. Mínin-kam min-kéɓi ɗérewol haa-ŋgómna min-kéɓi ɗérewol haa-résden. | get a letter from the King, because he did not get a letter from the Resident. Bundgaard said [to] him, "Well, we got a letter from the Resident." |
| Dága ɗón, mi-'úmmi mi-wárti'. Mi-ándi ɓe-ŋgíɗi nde-ɓe-mbáɗi túubalìije, 'újunéere. Mi wárti Yáŋguru mi-víi Búnguwa tóo, jónta 175.2 séy 'a-yáha haa-péllel Kája, 'a-'árta 'a-nyíɓa, súudu 'Álla. | From there, I arose, I came back. I knew they wanted when they made bricks one thousand. I came back [from] Yanguru. I said [to] Bunguwa, "Well, now necessary you go to a certain place, you start you build the house of God." |
| Ndén dága ɓáawo-ɗon, tóo, mi-'éggi mi-yéhi kóo haa-dúbbe léggal bee-débbo-'am min-njóoɗoto, háa ɓe-nyíɓana-mmi, mín-boo súudu. Sáare-'am. Séy Búnguwa 'úmmi wári', táwi ɓe-mbáagi lésdi-kam, séy máhugo. Hàa nókkuure ɓe-mbíi-noo-yam, ɓe-kólli-yam ɗó, ɗonɗón-boo mi- 175.3 hólli Búnguwa-boo, máhi súudu 'Álla. | Then from that time on, well, I moved. I went even to the bottom of the tree with wife-my, we will sit until they build for me, my house. My home. Of necessity, Bundgaard arose, came found they [had] piled up dirt, ready to build. In the place where they had told me, they had showed me there, right there I showed Bundgaard also, built the house of God. |
| Ɓáawoɗon, nde-'o máhi súudu 'Álla, 'o-tímmini máhugo, 'o-wárti. Mín-boo séy mi-'éggi. 'Éggugo jémma; mi-sáali Pélla'. Nde-mi-sáali Pélla-? mi-yéhi mi-wáali haa-ládde'. Wúyɓe tókki-yam. Ɓe-káɓi wújjugo, 'Álla háɗi-ɓe. Ɓe-káɓi, ɓe- | After that, when he built the house of God, he finished building, he came back. Me too, then I moved. Moving at night, I passed Pella. When I passed Pella, I went I slept in the bush. Robbers followed me. They tried to rob, God hindered them. They tried, they |

| | |
|---|---|
| 175.4 káɓi, ɓe-káɓi'. 'Álla hòkkáay-ɓe báawɗe, ɓe-ŋgújja-mmi. | tried, they tried. God did not give them power, they rob me. |
| Háa wáɗi dùuɓi táti. Gújjo nder-máɓɓe wári víi-yam-? Máalam 'a-wóodi rísku. Nyende 'a-wáala haa-ládde haa-nókkuure kája, min-tókkaka-maa, háa min-ŋgújj-e. 'Álla hòkkáay-min báawɗe. Mi-víi tóo. | Until three years passed. A robber from among them came said [to] me, "Teacher, you are fortunate. The day you slept in the bush at a certain place, we followed you so we rob you. God did not give us the power." I said, "Well." |
| Dága ɗón mi-yéhi mi-jíppi Gáanda'. Gáanda-boo wóodaa lúumo'. Wóodaa fúlɓe máa sákko lúumo wáɗa'. 'Árnaaɗo Gáanda móopti hímɓe. Ɓe-nyíɓani-yam mín-boo sáare-'am. 'Ádada'. Mi-tíiti 'ádada súudu 'Álla-ɗo mi-tímmini'. Min tíiti ɓúudu-'am. Min-tímmini'. | From then I went I descended at Gaanda. Gaanda did not have a market. There were no Fulani much the less a market be made. The chief [of] Gaanda assembled people. They built for me, me too my home. An Adada. I roofed the Adada house of God. I finished. We roofed house-my. We finished. |
| SUMMARY: | |
| Ndén mi-wáɗi, min-ndáwridi bee-'árnaaɗo Gàanda ɓí'etèeɗo Dáaso. Káŋko 'ón mi-táwi, háa-nder láamu'. Min-tóri 'Álla min-mbáɗi lúumo'. Háa jónta lúumo máajum ɗón. | Then I made, we consulted with the chief [of] Gaanda called Daaso. He it was I found on the throne. We prayed [to] God, we made a market. Until now market-that exists. |
| CLOSE: | |
| Níi mi-fúɗɗiri kúugal Jáwmiraawo haa-Gáanda. | That is how I started the work of the Lord at Gaanda. |

## FREE TRANSLATION

### How I Started the Work in Gaanda

Bundgaard, a Bata man and myself started out on a journey through several kingdoms to go to Laala. We first stopped at Pella and we stayed there, then we went and stayed at Jangura. After that we went and stayed at Gaanda. On arriving at Gaanda we found that the people had made a shelter for Bundgaard to stay in. They put me in the shelter which they had made for the District Officer. We stayed there.

In the middle of the night, someone came and stood at the head of my bed. He said to me, "Look, here is where you'll make your home, right in this place." Then he turned and left. When we awoke early in the morning I did not tell Bundgaard what happened during the night.

We continued our journey until we arrived at Laala. We then started back on the return journey and we came to Dumle in the kingdom of Yanguru. It was at this point that the Bata man up and left us and went his way. I felt I had to tell Teacher Bundgaard that I would go to Gaanda. He said, "You'll go to Gaanda?" I replied, "Yes, I'll go to Gaanda." He said, "There are no Fulani there." I said, "No, but even though there are no Fulani, I'll go. I'll bring the news of God to Gaanda." He said, "Good."

When I told my wife about it, she said she would not go. So I told her that even if she didn't go, I would.

After I got back home I said to Teacher Bundgaard, "Let me go to Gaanda by myself because if you ask them whether or not they want someone to teach them, they may be afraid to tell the truth because you are white and a European. But if someone black like them goes, he would get the truth. If they really want someone, I'll find out. Or if they really don't want anyone to teach them but do not dare say so because they fear you, I'll find that out too."

So I mounted my horse for my journey. Teacher Bundgaard sent a person with me to cook for me. I went and found the Chief of Gaanda was outdoors collecting taxes. I got up and went to him and greeted him. I told him I had come to his country in order to find out whether or not his people wanted a teacher. He replied, "Good."

In the morning he gave me a guide who would take me to his overseer who would find a place for me to stay. The overseer put me in a house or a shelter that they had prepared for Teacher Bundgaard. That's where I stayed. When the people had been assembled, I preached to them in Fulani because they understand Fulani. I preached a lengthy sermon. I said, "Well now, I have come to you in order to find out whether or not you want someone to bring you out of darkness." They said they did want someone. I said, "Good. I'll find out if you really want someone. I want you to make bricks." I stayed there twenty-five days and they made a thousand bricks.

Then an official of the Emirate came and found me. He said to me, "You are Teacher Markus Muhammadu, aren't you?" I answered, "Yes." The name of that official was Teacher Usumanu and he was a brother of the Galdima of Yola. He said, "I saw the letter you sent me. But you'll not stay here. You must get up and leave my territory immediately. I said to him, "Now, we are not despoilers, we will not rob the territory. If we don't receive authorization to stay in this country, we will not come to stay here. Nonetheless, I heard what you said."

The official went on his way to Kanjakkara. I had to write a letter and send it to Teacher Bundgaard at Kilba. Bundgaard got on his motorcycle and went and found the official. The official explained that the decision was necessary because he had received no authorization from the King or the Resident. Well, Bundgaard said, "We do have an authorization from the Resident."

After that, I went back to Gaanda. I knew they wanted a teacher since they had made a thousand bricks. I came back from

Yanguru and said to Bundgaard, "Now you must build a house of God in Gaanda."

Well then, after that, I moved. I camped under a tree with my wife while a house was being built for me. Then Bundgaard came and found that they had prepared the dirt for the building. Bundgaard built the house of God right in the place where I had been shown in that dream.

When Bundgaard finished the house of God, he returned. Then I went to Gaanda. I passed Pella at night and camped in the bush. Robbers were following me and they tried to rob me, but God hindered them. They tried again and again, but God did not permit them to rob me. Three years later, one of those robbers came to me and said to me, "Teacher, you are very fortunate. One day while you camped in the bush at such-and-such a place, we followed you in order to rob you. But God did not permit us to." I said, "Good."

Then I entered Gaanda. Gaanda did not have a market at that time. There weren't even any Fulani, much less a market.

The Gaanda chief gathered his people. They built a home for me and a house of God and we roofed both of them.

I had frequent, friendly consultations with the chief of Gaanda who was called Daaso. He was on the throne there at that time. We worshipped God. We started a market which exists even today.

That is how I started the work of the Lord at Gaanda.

# APPENDIX F

VIII I by Mallum Abaayi

(Clause analysis)

OPENING AND TITLE:

11.17 Kícca káa-boo-? mɓoju bee-ɓikkoy mùuɗum /[1]
Topic Description

Story-this too a rabbit with children-its

SETTING:

Nde-ŋgu-wári dillugo wáancuru'-? /
I S VPC VM Co

when it came to go strolling

BODY:

ŋgu-víi ɓikkoy maagu'-? /
S V Co

it said [to] children-its

//to-'on-náni,/ ŋgaatee,/ ŋgaatee,/ ŋgáatee,//
VPC VPC VPC
I S VPC Co

"If you hear, Encircle, encircle, encircle,

ɓikkoy-'am táa kultoree./
S VM VPC

children-my don't fear.

'Ándee mi-wártan /
S VPC
VPC Co

Know I will come back.

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[1] The slash marks minimal clause division; two slashes, clauses which include other clauses.

11.19 //'Ámmaa to-'on-náni,
I S VPC

But if you hear,

ŋgádde/mi-láara,/'áyye nópo,/wáddu/mi-láara,/'áyye nópo,//
VPC S VPC Exp VPC S VPC Exp
Co

Bring [it so] I can see my what big ears, bring [it so] I can see my what big ears.

LESSON:

'o-víi/to-'on-náni báni níi-kam,/kúltoree/.
S VPC I S VPC Co Cl VPC
Co

He said, If you hear like that, fear.

Ndén-kam mi-ɗón haa júŋŋgo góɗɗo kádi./
I S VPC Co Cl

Then I am in the hand [of] a person.

Ɓe-náŋgi-yam./
S VPC Co

They caught me."

CLOSE:

Kányum-boo níi./
T D

That one too thus,

## FREE TRANSLATION

This story is about a rabbit and her children.

Before she went for a walk, she said to her children, "If you hear 'catch it, catch it, catch it,' don't be afraid, my children. You can be sure I'm coming back. But if you hear, 'Bring it so I can see. Oh my what big ears! Let me see it, Oh what big ears!'" She said, "If you hear that, then be afraid. If that is so I would be in someone's hand, they would have caught me."

That is how that story ends.

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